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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2251



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RESULTS OF FOURTH SUMMIT OF SAHARAN STATES NOTED

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 24 Mar 80 pp 28-29

[Article by Ne Mboma: "Six Countries in Search of Hope"]

[Text] It suffices to see the obvious relief and suspicious joy with which the agencies' dispatches have commented on the "meager results" of the fourth summit of Saharan states to understand that in this month of March 1980 a momentous event may have taken place at Bamako. Certainly, the list of the conference's "failures" has been carefully drawn up: History will only remember that the Malian capital baptized the Organization of Saharan States. Nothing was signed--a nonaggression pact, a good-neighbor pact, or a fortiori, a friendship agreement. Nor was there any agreement on the free circulation of peoples--but try to tell the 1.5 million nomad shepherds or the almost 500,000 farmers settled on the oases about frontiers in the Saharan territory!

And yet, beyond the banal appearances of the final report, little attention has been paid to two moderate but substantial expressions in the Bamako declaration. On the political side, while the first three summits had brought together countries bordering on the Sahara, it is the Saharan states that have come together in the Malian capital. It is not a semantic change, but an end to the "sea of sand," the myth of the "no-man's land" separating white Africa from black Africa, particularly in the case of Chad in this period of stabilization. And, [it is] a clear assertion of the will to appropriate the desert with all its handicaps and resources. On the economic side, the adopted text modestly recommends the implementation of "industrial projects of common interest".

The day after the meeting, the Algerian paper EL MOUDJAHID clearly explained the long-term objectives: To break with "traditional and neocolonialist schemes" in the relations among states; "to dispense with the economic and political protection" of large and other "regional" powers; and, finally, to enable the future organization, whatever its form, to "forge (its) own destiny thanks to (its) own potential and the solidarity of (its) members."

Just as in Luanda this past June, when a community of Portuguese-speaking Africa was formed (see DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE, No 30, 2 Jul 79), the primary matter lies in the quiet resolution to keep the former colonial power out of the project. No role was assigned to France: not that of commander, guardian, adviser, or provider of technical and financial resources; not even as a foil. Only a partner among others, although privileged. Paris will have to make the best of a sort of spiritual presence through the French language, common to five of the six countries represented.

In this context, the "failures" of Bamako can be seen for what they are-- in the absence of a prefabricated model, the undertaking will develop from strong foundations, step by step.

Later on, we will see the form that the cooperation between Algeria, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Chad will take.¹ For the moment, let us look more at the measurable elements of this group which is not yet an organized community.

The six countries concerned have common frontiers, which accounts for their shared concerns. They also have cultural ties, knitted by very old historical relationships, as shown by the history of the Sahara. Three countries are land-locked, but the Saharan space opens imultaneously on two seas: the Mediterranean in the north and the Atlantic Ocean in the west.

The area of the largest country (Algeria) is twice that of the smallest country (Mauritania), as opposed to a ratio of 1 to 21 in the EEC (Luxembourg and France). On the contrary, the difference between the gross domestic product (GDP) per inhabitant between Mali (\$110 in 1977) and Lybia (\$6,680) clearly illustrates the diversity of resources.

But together these countries possess key assets: Their total area, 8,946,000 km, slightly less than a third of the black continent, puts the Saharan countries between the United States and Canada in size. In 1977, the population was estimated at 38 million inhabitants, out of 401 million Africans, and it is expected to exceed 68 million in the year 2000. According to the 1979 World Bank report, the GDP for that same year will approach \$40 million, or more than \$1,000 per person--Algeria's level-- that is, a level currently considered to be the decisive threshold for economic take-off.

Except for [the lack of] some important minerals (cobalt, tin), the Saharan subsoil contains fabulous deposits. Iron, gas, petroleum, coal and copper are found in abundance. Its soil yields reasonable harvests. However, the Sahara lacks forests and timber, has slight water resources and, consequently, river transportation and its energy potential are reduced.

¹ If, due to the Saharan conflict, Morocco's absence is understandable, Tunisia's, on the contrary, is surprising.

Its greatest handicap is the immensity of its territory. Therefore, it is not surprising that four of the five commissions set up at Bamako involve the economy. The first one concerns agriculture, hydraulics and trans-humance; the second covers mines, industry and energy; the third covers transportation and telecommunications and the fourth commerce and finances. The struggle against drought and desertification, development of solar energy, preservation of fauna and flora, creation of animal and fisheries resources, and the completion of the Trans-Saharan [highway] will head the lists of projects of common interest.

The fact that five of the six countries belong to the zone, or the inheritance of the French franc, will facilitate exchanges within the trans-Saharan community.

The fourth conference of Saharan states marks another turning point--as it was the first to engage in a process of development based essentially on exchanges with industrialized countries, Algeria realizes that by the balance of payments and the service of its foreign debts, in time, this way can, paradoxically, lead to dependency. Hence, the revision of its policy on hydrocarbons among others (see DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE No 48) and the priority granted to south-south exchanges, to which it helped to convert the third world.

Finally, the fifth commission (culture, information and social matters) should evolve into a country of knowledge: with some differences among the countries, Islam, cultural traditions and nonalignment serving as a ferment to the future community.

Two years from now, at Nouakchott (Mauritania), the "six" should reap the first fruits of the seeds planted in the Malian capital. An indicative test of the new solidarity will be the way in which the Saharan states get out of the tricky situation created by the occupation of the Aouzou zone by the Libyan army, in northern Chad.

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LIBYAN FOREIGN MINISTER INSULTS CHADIAN OFFICIAL

Pauls DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 24 Mar 80 p 29

[Article by Moriba Magassouba: "Earthy Turayki..."]

[Text] "No African of pure blood and color would have dared to talk in those terms." Full of insults, the indescribable Ali 'Abd al-Salam al-Turayki, secretary of foreign affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, vehemently addressed Mr Arnault d'Abzag, Idjamen's director of economic matters at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the eyes of the irascible character, rising like a jack-in-the-box, Mr d'Abzag was guilty of a "very serious crime." As a Chadian expert and on the instructions of his minister, insuring an interim for d'Amat Acyl, the incumbent minister who was undergoing treatment in Germany, the Chadian official had insisted that it was necessary to stress "the inviolability, intangibility [sic] and integrity of the frontiers inherited from the colonization." Also, the Libyans, as everyone knows, do not seem concerned about that. They are occupying the Aouzou zone, an integral and inalienable part of the Republic of Chad. Obviously, such remarks could not produce an expression of overflowing respect from Mr Turayki. That the latter has reacted impatiently from that time is easy to understand. But nothing can excuse the scornful attitude and rude remarks of the earthy head of Libyan diplomacy. The council of experts and ambassadors were not deceived by this; they jumped with indignation at the sight of the Chadian angrily shaking his beautiful crop of blond hair. Turayki's claim to a "pure African" left breathless. When all is said and done, Mr Turayki was successful only in showing off his talents, which are great, in the diplomacy of invective and insult. What can be said about the Libyan airplane--an Antonov (a large carrier of Soviet manufacture)--stuffed with arms, which landed at Bamako on the eve of the opening of the conference of chiefs of state? "That is for our security needs," was the response heard by the Malian authorities when they inquired about the reasons for the presence of such an arsenal on Malian territory. Skeptical, the host country's authorities cordoned off the plane. You never can tell. So unpredictable are the Libyan brothers that they could have brought in their cargo space--inadvertently, of course--a certain Didi Soumbounou and his mercenaries whom it took so long to deliver to President Moussa Traore.

Qadhdhafi's absence (after the suspense of he will come, he will not) and his sudden replacement by Commander Jalloud, who supported the need for oubliettes, "gave rise to unpleasant remarks" in the midst of the conference. The presence of 150 Libyan military guards in the Malian capital could not eliminate the apprehensions of the Libyan chief of state, who is said to be very anxious about his safety.

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

TUNISIAN YOUTH DELEGATION VISITS ZAIRE

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 3 Apr 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] A delegation representing the Destourian Socialist Party Youth of Tunisia will pay a friendly visit to Zaire beginning on 13 April.

This information was given to the secretary general of the JMPR [Youth of the Popular Movement of the Revolution], Sakombi Inongo, by Tunisian Ambassador to Zaire Abdelaziz Beltaief, during the interview granted him by Sakombi Inongo Tuesday at the general headquarters for Zairian and Tunisian youth.

The Tunisian diplomat specified that the delegation will be headed by the deputy secretary general of the Destourian Youth, Mr Kamal, and that it will hold meetings with the officers of the JMPR.

These talks will have to do with the consolidation of relations between the youth of Zaire and that of Tunisia.

Messrs Sakombi and Beltaief also discussed the strengthening of cultural cooperation and exchange between the youth groups in the two countries.

Earlier, the secretary general of the JMPR had granted an interview to the JMPR leader for the urban region of Kinshasa, Mbungu Nzau, who came to report to him on the activities of the youth in the capital.

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

JOINT GHANA-GUINEA COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

Conakry HOROYA in French 11 Mar 80 pp 4-5

[Joint Ghana-Guinea communique, dated 9 March 1980 and signed by Ahmed Sekou Toure, president of Guinea, and Dr Hilla Limann, president of Ghana]

[Excerpts] At the invitation of Ahmed Sekou Toure, president of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, Dr Hilla Limann, president of the Republic of Ghana, made a good-will visit to the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea on 8 and 9 March 1980.

This visit came in response to the one paid to Ghana by Ahmed Sekou Toure, president of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, on 23 and 24 September 1979 for the inauguration of Dr Hilla Limann as first president of the Third Republic of Ghana.

The visit will also help to strengthen the brotherly bilateral cooperation existing between the two countries.

The two delegations met and reviewed the international situation in general and in particular, the situation in southern Africa following the elections in Zimbabwe, elections resulting in the great victory of the ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front] of Robert Mugabe and the Patriotic Front of Joshua N'Komo, which together won over 96 percent of all votes cast.

The two nations pledged to give their support to the new state of Zimbabwe for its unity and the strengthening of its independence, won after a hard struggle, and its national reconstruction.

Both sides rendered homage to the great role played by the immortal Dr Kwame N'Krumah in the process of the decolonization of Africa and the consolidation of its economy.

They reaffirmed their determination to cooperate closely in order to intensify the anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, antiracist and antiapartheid struggle in Namibia and South Africa.

In the course of their meetings, they sought ways and means of strengthening their political, economic, commercial and cultural relations in order to make those already existing so harmoniously between their two nations, their two governments, their two peoples and their two parties a model of cooperation within the framework of the West African States Economic Community (CEDEAO) and African unity.

The meetings took place within an atmosphere of frankness, mutual trust and total understanding.

President Hilla Limann thanked President Ahmed Sekou Toure and the government and people of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea for the fraternal hospitality extended to him and to the large delegation accompanying him and for the success of the visit.

President Hilla Limann invited President Ahmed Sekou Toure to visit the Republic of Ghana on a date of his choosing.

The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Conakry, 9 March 1980

Ahmed Sekou Toure
President of the
People's Revolutionary Republic
of Guinea

Dr Hilla Limann
President of the
Republic of Ghana

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PRESIDENT ISSUES DECREE DISMISSING EXPORT CHIEF

LD091328 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0530 GMT 9 May 80 EA

[Text] Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party, president of the People's Republic of Angola and commander-in-chief of FAPLA [armed forces], has issued the following decree:

- 1) In view of the fact that the present level of development in our country is insufficient to fully meet our peoples' basic needs;
- 2) In view of the great efforts being made in the country to put an end to such shortages as already exist, which involves high expenditure in terms of both domestic currency and foreign exchange--money that has been earned by the sweat of the Angolan people in their tasks of national reconstruction;
- 3) Taking into account that it is the duty of all Angolan citizens not only to participate fully in the process of national reconstruction but also to preserve and care for material goods once they have been produced;
- 4) In view of the deterioration of 2,000 tons of peanuts (cagaco de amendoim) resulting in the loss of 10,937,468 kwanzas through negligence and excessive delays in exporting the above commodity by the state economic unit, Exportang, I decree that in the light of proven evidence contrary to national economic interests, the comrade minister of foreign trade should relieve Comrade Jose Manuel (Carreira) of his duties as general manager of the state economic unit, Exportang, with immediate effect.

[Signed] Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Republic,
Office of the President of the Peoples Republic of Angola, Luanda

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NICKEL ROUTE, EXPLOITATION PROBLEMS OUTLINED

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 7 Apr 80 p 50

[Text] The enormous "geological scandal" of Zaire hardly left colonial Belgium any leisure for getting interested in the subsoil of Burundi. A bad mistake. As a matter of fact, on the basis of the first results of research carried out with the financial and technical assistance of the United Nations and the help of various bilateral cooperatives, an early glimpse can be had today of the enormous mining potential of this land-locked country of 27,834 square kilometers. As of now exploration has brought to light layers of gold-bearing ore in Mabayi-Butahana, uranium in Musigati, nickel and copper glances at Musongati, rare soils at Buhoro-Muliza and tungsten at Busoni. Not forgetting the hydrocarbons (natural bitumen) of the plain of Ruzizi to the extreme north of Lake Tanganyika. And the cobalt...

For the time being the government of Bujumbura has decided to put into production in the near future the Musongati site in the Buhinda sector 60 kilometers from the capital on the way to Gitega. This layer of 74,500,000 tons of ore possibly contains 1,130,000 tons of nickel, 76,000 tons of cobalt and 213,000 tons of copper. It could easily lend itself to intensive utilization at a rate of more than 2 million tons of ore a year for from 20 to 30 years.

The Burundian ministry of geology and mines--currently on the look-out for partners--feels that commercial utilization could begin in 1985. Burundi has already placed an order amounting to \$2.5 million with an American company, Universal Oil Product, for a pilot factory for treating nickel. Everything would be just fine except for the obstacle of being landlocked. Located some 2,200 kilometers west of the Indian Ocean and more than 3,000 kilometers east of the Atlantic, Burundi does not have the advantage of any direct access to the sea. To the south a railway across Tanzania links Bujumbura to the port of Dar es Salaam by means of a load break at Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika. To the north a route leads from Bujumbura across Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya to the port of Mombassa. A third exit gate, the southwestern route, links Bujumbura to the Angolan port of Lobito by way of Kalemie in Zaire. A final

outlet goes through the Zambian port of Mpulungu on Lake Tanganyika and cuts through the Tazara to Dar es Salaam.

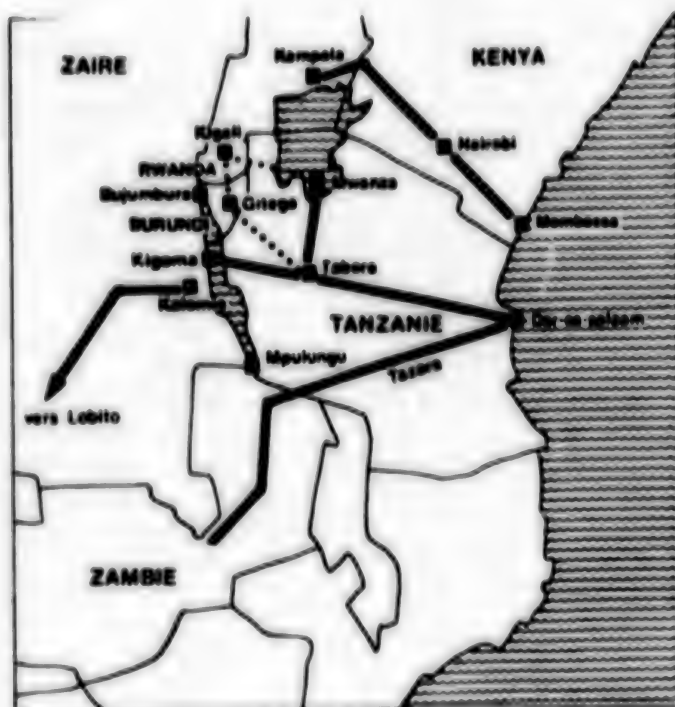
With the exception of the northern route (towards Mombassa), the least adapted to transporting ore because, from Burundi to Uganda, it requires the use of trucks, all the other outlets present several load breaks. The northern route, however, at \$120 for each ton of goods transported, remains the most costly. All the more since excessive insurance premiums and various other risks, especially the eight long years of the regime of the whimsical Idi Amin Dada in Uganda, encumber its passage. In other respects the Benguela railroad, always under the threat of the raids of the bush troops of Janas Savimbi in Angola and the fragility of the Tazara: derailments, strikes, floods, shortages of cars, etc., are well known (see DA No 33-34 of 27 August, 1979).

Because of its cost (\$70 a ton) and its relatively short distance (1,200 kilometers) the southern route wins out over the others in spite of the warehousing and handling difficulties in Dar es Salaam--permanently saturated--and the insufficiency of locomotives on the central route from Kigoma to Dar es Salaam. This is still the one that will be the "nickel route."

Such was the decision reached by the Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere, and his Burundian counterpart, Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, on the occasion of the latter's official visit to Dar es Salaam from the 12th to the 15th of February. In the general economic cooperation agreement initialed on this occasion, the observers particularly kept in mind the authorization granted to Burundi to place on the Kigoma-Dar es Salaam stretch the additional railroad means (locomotives, cars, etc.) required for moving out its ore production. In order to avoid load breaks ferries will be used between Bujumbura and Kigoma along Lake Tanganyika. The two countries envisage, furthermore, the construction of a 348-kilometer railway crossover starting from Tabora in Tanzania and passing through Gitega and the nickel mines of Musongati to end in the Burundian north at the layer of peat of Buyongwe. This line presents an additional advantage: it serves the east and the middle of Burundi where two-thirds of the country's total population are concentrated. An additional stretch of 97 kilometers from Buyongwe towards Kigali, the Rwandan capital, to Mwanza on the edge of Lake Victoria would help to get Rwanda out of its landlocked state.

Experts from the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) have estimated the cost of constructing the railway, not including accessory installations and rolling stock, to be \$376 million. Burundi, Rwanda and Tanzania will jointly defend the investment file on this project, the regional importance of which is undeniable, since it would, moreover, given eastern Zaire an outlet to the sea. They have high hopes of seeing it carried out 5 years from now.

Major obstacle to mining development in Burundi: being landlocked. A Tanzano-Burundian agreement has just solved this sizable problem: by ferry from Bujumbura to Kigoma, Burundian mining production will be routed from now on to the port of Dar es Salaam.



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BURUNDI

BRIEFS

PRIESTS DEPORTED--Burundi. Two priests, Father Sergio Cambiaganu, of Italian nationality, and Jesus Jimeno, of Spanish nationality, who lived in missions located in the south of Burundi, were deported from the country and declared undesirable, the daily newspaper of Burundi, LE RENOUVEAU reported on Thursday, 10 April. (AFP) [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 13-14 Apr 80 p 11] 9498

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CAPE VERDE

PIRES ON NATION'S FUTURE, RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 11 Apr 80 pp 23-24

[Article by Fernando Assis Pacheco: "There Is No Dispute, Only Minor Problems"]

[Excerpts] "There is no basic dispute between Cape Verde and Portugal, only minor background problems we need to clarify," the prime minister of the Republic of Cape Verde, Cdr Pedro Pires, told this correspondent in his office in the city of Praia.

"Every country," he added, "has the right to defend what it regards as the interests of its people. It is on this basis that we must engage in discussion and dialog."

Cape Verde in the Year 2000

"What will Cape Verde be like in the year 2000, Mr Prime Minister?"

"That is something difficult to predict. There are many things which can happen, economic, political and other phenomena, which could help us to resolve our problems or, on the contrary, they could hinder their solution. If we can take as a reference the almost 5 years since we gained independence, what we are doing, the experience we have gained, the response various countries have provided to our needs, to our appeals, then we can only be optimistic. For on the one hand we have succeeded in asserting ourselves on the international level, and on the other, we have now gained some experience."

He then told me what has been done in the country to improve the administration and organize the cadres. And he discussed the matter of the plan briefly, with caution which will be evident.

"Currently we are taking the first steps in discussing the general outline of the draft for our development plan."

International bodies have been placing stress precisely on the point that it is urgently necessary for Cape Verde to draft a plan in the most rigorous possible terms.

"We will discuss the general guidelines for the future," Pedro Pires went on, "and then we will define the successive goals more specifically. By the year 2000 Cape Verde will certainly be different from what it is today, economically, politically and socially. By that time we should have many achievements in industrial production, agricultural development, the service sector, tourism, training and education. Perhaps we will have other and different educational institutions, with much better quality."

In the health sector, he said, the country will work to have more technicians, more resources, more and better facilities. We were to return to this subject later.

He spoke once again about the cadres, which he regards as "very important" in the current situation in Cape Verde. They will achieve a reasonable status within 5 years and be "good and experienced" within a decade. And in the realm of vocational training, he stressed the need for "more skilled workers."

Taken all in all, "the standard of living for the people will be much better."

"We will improve and change all this," he said. "By the year 2000 we will also have resolved the problem of the political institutions. Our administration will be on its feet, making possible the effective participation of the citizens in national political life" (and he went into greater detail about the general administration, the economy and the courts).

"We do not want to be over-optimistic. Today's world is very complex, and on the other hand we still do not have the institutions in order to predict what will happen. But one thing we do not lack--neither we nor our people--and that is the will to achieve the goals established. To the extent that we set forth our goals, our objectives, in time, I am persuaded that our people will support us and work for their achievement. Oh yes, Cape Verde will be very different by the year 2000!"

Relations With Portugal

The second point on our interview agenda had to do with relations between Cape Verde and Portugal. Is there some dispute? If so, how could it be overcome? So that new sectors can count on Portuguese cooperation with Cape Verde?

No, there is no dispute. On this Pedro Pires was categorical. Time and the capacity for dialog will minimize what remains, which are "small problems."

"We in Cape Verde and in the PAIGC," he explained, "want to be consistent in our position. We have always said that we were not fighting against the Portuguese people, a friendly people with whom we can establish relations--not maintaining relations with this or that government, but relations between one state and another, from a firmer viewpoint, excluding any contingency. We do not demand that our positions coincide."

On the subject of cooperation, he is persuaded that "it is tending to develop." But sometimes people regard cooperation as only on the government level. This is an erroneous view, a poor assessment of the circumstances, for there are "other forms." And he listed cooperation with governments, with institutions, with enterprises and commercial firms, with simple citizens, mentioning in this connection the Elidio Monteiro Limited Liability Construction Company, which is very active in Cape Verde, and the National Economic Undertakings and Development Limited Liability Company (SNEDE-SARL), which has also been collaborating in the rebuilding of the country. Cooperation "is rather broad," covering innumerable sectors--education, administrative reform, health, technical aid.

"And what about the future, Mr Prime Minister?"

"As we are developing our country," he answered, "I believe that cooperation will be primarily oriented toward the economic sector, without neglect of the others. It should be noted that the majority of our imports come from Portugal. And there are Portuguese firms interested in the products of Cape Verde."

"And this does not take into account the citizens of Cape Verde in Portugal," he said.

Serious Weakness in the Information Sector

And thus we came to another question I had asked of him earlier.

"On 25 June 1975 the Supreme Struggle Committee of the PAIGC appealed to the patriotism of the emigrants 'for mobilization in the national recovery effort.' Has there been a positive response in this 5-year period?"

"We can say that there has, that the emigrants from Cape Verde have interested themselves in our country increasingly," Pedro Pires said. "And I am certain that they have considerable confidence in the government of Cape Verde and its future today, although there is a certain sector of people sensitive to propaganda which sometimes reaches the point of slander against independent Cape Verde. It can be seen that the emigrants are ever more interested in knowing what is going on in the country."

Evidence of this positive response would include, for example, the increasing number of compatriots who come on vacation at the beginning of the year or for special political dates, which coincide on the islands with the

5 July independence celebrations, and also the monetary remittances (more than 2,000 contos per month for the island of Boavista alone, with just over 4,000 residents), and again the fact that many are establishing personal accounts in the Bank of Cape Verde.

"And all of this despite the rumors, the unbelievable inventions they spread about us! A local event, a simple government meeting, is reported there in complete distortion."

"What is the source of this?"

"The source is an unstable social class, and also a campaign is being waged to hinder the consolidation of our national independence. But at the same time it must be noted that we have a great weakness, our information sector is rather weak. In so saying I do not mean only newspapers, but the information sector in the broad sense, which is needed precisely to offset this campaign and to report our real situation."

5157

CSO: 4401

VILLAGE COMMUNITY COMMITTEES TO INVENTORY PROJECTS

Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE in French 8 Apr 80 p 9

[Text] From the 10th to the 15th of March, 1980, the Prefect of Mifi, Mr Matip Momnongui Robert, carried out his contact-making tour in the three administrative units of his department. Mr Matip Momnongui, who was accompanied by the members of parliament, political leaders and departmental service chiefs of his sector successively visited the circumscriptions of Bamendjou and Bagou and the district of Baham in Ouest Province.

During this first phase of his official trip the chief of the department of Mifi spoke to the staff members of his administration about the taking place of the Bafoussam conference and the important decisions reached during these meetings.

A decision was made to create village community committees having as their primary role the inventoring of all of the works and equipment projects in a given locale. Thus, village community committees will be called upon to determine the economic and social factors of their sectors. A maintenance system for the large road systems was likewise set up so that traffic on our roads all through the year will be possible.

The prefect stated that all of this will be recorded in the fifth 5-year plan, the establishment and the probable effective date of which will be early in 1981. The development of a country, Mr Matip Momnongui said, is like a permanent construction job site, where each generation must make its contribution. The Bafoussam conference, he went on, was likewise an opportunity for international opinion to evaluate Cameroon's degree of political maturity, and consequently, for increasing our audience in Africa and throughout the world.

9498
CSO: 4400

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

PRESIDENT VISITS FRANCE--President David Dacko's visit to France began on Tuesday 25 March. Several political and economic meetings which are essential to the future of his country are planned. It is well-known that the bankrupt Central African economy poses serious problems which are difficult to resolve because of a foreign debt in the amount of 80 billion CFA francs, which cuts off any possibility of credit. The economic recovery being undertaken by the government of President Dacko must depend on neighboring countries, such as Gabon, Cameroon and Zaire, which have promised to be unstinting in their efforts to help. France, a former colonial power, has shown that it too was clearly ready to participate in the reconstruction of the country. On 24 March, before leaving for France, President Dacko ended the duties of the minister of finance, Francois Gueret. Michel Gallin-Douathe, minister of state, delegate to the PM's Office will fill the gap in the interim. [Text] [Brazzaville LA SEMAINE AFRIQUE in French 27 Mar-2 Apr 80 p 2] 9174

MLPC IN CABINET RESHUFFLE--It is expected in Bangui that President David Dacko will soon reshuffle his cabinet. This would actualize the recent rapprochement between the Central African regime and part of Mr Ange Patasse's MLPC [Central African People's Liberation Movement]. [Text] [Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 24 Mar 80 p 17] 9341

CSO: 4400

LEADERS SAY FRENCH COOPERATION MUST BE PRESERVED

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Apr 80 pp 1,3

[Article by Francoise Chipaux: "The Will of God: a Month of Civil War in Chad"--passages in slantlines published in italics]

[Text] Battles continue in Ndjamena, interrupted by short periods of calm, while all attempts at negotiating are at a standstill.

For the Northern Armed Forces (FAN), there "can be only a political solution" to the Chadian drama, Mr Ahmed Mahamat Saleh, FAN chief administrator for foreign affairs, maintained on 21 April. A delegation of the Popular Armed Forces of President Goukouni was received in Luanda on Sunday, and its leader stated that he hoped to get political support from Angola.

The Government of Niger repeated its proposition that "Chad come under OAU or United Nations trusteeship." The chiefs of state participating at the next economic summit of the OAU, taking place in Lagos on 28 and 29 April, could thus be induced to concern themselves again with the Chadian problem.

A strange war! It is a month ago to the day, in the early hours of the morning, that the Chadian capital was divided in two: the African neighborhoods remaining in the hands of the Northern Armed Forces (FAN) of Mr Hisssein Habre, minister of defense, the European and administrative neighborhoods remaining under the control of President Goukouni Oueddei's People's Armed Forces (FAP) and the pro-Libyan troops of Front for Joint Action (FAC), led by Messrs Mahamat Abba, minister of the interior, and Acyl Ahmat, minister of foreign affairs.

The first conflict of this kind since the independence of the French-speaking states is personified by this warrant officer, whom we met at the French military-base hospital, where he came to visit two of his wounded brothers

from the FAP. Two of his brothers, also wounded, had just been evacuated to Kousseri, a small Cameroonian town where the French army also treats Hisssein Habre's Northern Armed Forces. He did not want to think about this absurd quarrel anymore, which neither ideological nor ethnic, and in which the only thing that really distinguishes one soldier from another is the color of the ribbon on his shoulder, blue for the FAN, white for FAP-FAC, and the only bond between them is the Kalashnikov and the determination to carry to its conclusion a fratricidal war.

During a month of confrontations, viewed as "God's Will," neither camp succeeded in carrying the day, and the violent battles taking place around Massaguet, at 60 km northeast of Ndjamena, seem to indicate that reinforcements are still arriving in the Chadian capital.

In essence, the battle can be summed up as a struggle for power between Mr Hisssein Habre and others with different political leanings who, for the present, apparently formed an /"unnatural"/ alliance. In fact, it is a conflict between northern Chadians that lit the powder keg and prompted the /"southern"/ vice president, Colonel Kamougue, to join the president of the republic. Colonel Kamougue had come in the name of national safety to support a government that came out of the Lagos agreement of August 1979, after 4 months of difficult negotiations. These agreements, which had tried once again to reestablish the state of Chad, remain the basic charter for the country, and all groups say they abide by it while accusing others of not honoring it.

In President Goukouni's circle they reproach the FAN of never having wanted to /"demilitarize"/ the capital, and especially of having violated the cease-fire by attacking the FAC in the central part of the country. Accusations rejected by Mr Hisssein Habre who can easily claim that neither Vice President Kamougue nor Mr Acyl Ahmat, though minister of foreign affairs, wanted to participate in the government's action. One thing is certain: 8 months after the 11 /"factions"/ had signed the Lagos agreement, and 4 months after the government was formed, only one of the main points of the agreement was being implemented. It is the one that anticipated a progressive integration of the regrouped armies around a /"provostship"/ which was supposed to be the embryo for the future Chadian army. Whereas the greatest irony is that it is within this /"provostship"/ that the present conflict broke out. In the end it showed that signing the Lagos texts last August, which was wrenched from 11 groups after 2 negotiations had failed in Kano in March and April 1979, by neighboring countries not completely devoid of ulterior motives, had not lessened the suspicion the leaders have of each other, and each one kept his own army, just in case...

Today, beyond the quarrel that pits Mr Hisssein Habre against his adversaries who see in him /"an ambitious man, willing to do anything to become head of state"/, there remains a political conflict regarding the way the state should be run, which, after 20 years of independence or /"pseudo-independence,"/ said President Goukouni Oueddei with bitterness, has no schools, no hospitals, no roads, and /"has only five experts in accounting."/

Mr Hisssein Habre insists, with reason, on the unity of views, the discipline, the order that reign in his movement facing the special coalition assembled around President Goukouni. In fact, one can notice that the FAN are well organized, the troops are disciplined, obey their leaders whose authority is recognized, and any breach of discipline is severely punished. There is rarely any pillaging in the FAN zone, and the few French people still living in the part of Ndjamena which they control have nothing to complain about regarding their relations with the soldiers. The same is not true for the PAP [expansion unknown] and the FAC, and the European part of the capital where they are stationed has almost as much to fear from exactions and acts of vandalism as from shells and bullets.

As we were told by someone who knows the country well and does not hide his liking for the minister of defense, /"Hisssein Habre has all the qualities of a chief of state."/ However, he adds /"save one, patience."/ To this reservation the defense minister's enemies add another one, a more serious one. /"Hisssein Habre in power means the elimination of other parties, yet which are representative of the people,"/ says for example Mr Brahim Youssouf, a close adviser of President Goukouni Oueddei. He adds: /"It would be the advent of a fascist regime."/ Embittered towards France whom he accuses of having /"created Hisssein Habre in order to thwart Libya,"/ he observes: /"For how long do western powers think that strong-arm regimes are needed in Africa? We do not want a Pinochet for our generation."/

A Fragile Coalition

For his adversaries, who nevertheless helped him in the past, Hisssein Habre is the one who is mainly responsible for the bloody battles of February 1979, which pitted "Northerners" against "Southerners" and were the cause of terrible massacres on both sides, as well as causing the departure of the "Southerners" from the capital. In this respect, Colonel Kamougue siding with President Goukouni Oueddei appears to be mainly the revenge of a man kept away from the capital after a cruel rout of his troops.

It is for this reason that the alliance formed around the chief of state appears to be very fragile. No doubt Mr Hisssein Habre is not altogether wrong when he says that if the "southern" troops really entered Ndjamena, the toubou [as published] troops of the FAP prefer to go back to their own ranks than to ally themselves with men against whom they were accustomed to fight since the age of 15. The FAP-FAC alliance already poses problems, and a certain number of desertions from the ranks of the FAP were noted.

There again, the turbulent history of Chad has left a mark on the minds of the people, and memories of the violent battles of the summer of 1978 against the "Libyan columns" left a mark on men who were certainly used to fighting, though mainly for their clan. Libya is the focus of accusations uttered by the minister of defense, who willingly calls his adversaries /"servants of Qadhdhafi." "There will never be a solution as long as Libya interferes in our affairs. The day Libya leaves Chad, there will be no Chadian problem anymore,"/ said Mr Michel Froud, member of the FAN central committee.

Those in the FAP vigorously deny that they are /"pro-Libyan." "We got rid of the Libyans in August 1978,"/ said Mr Brahim Youssouf, /"and, anyway, we are not slaves to our alliances."/ However, President Goukouni Oueddei threatens to accept aid from Tripoli if /"Sudanese and Egyptian reinforcements keep coming for Mr Hisssein Habre."/

In this Chadian imbroglio, French neutrality cannot be questioned. It is recognized by both major adversaries, and it is, after all, the only possible attitude. However, past changes in French policy have generated a lot of resentment, and certain leaders do not hesitate to blame France for the deteriorating situation.

Yet none of the leaders we met expressed strong anti-French feelings. All agree that cooperation with Paris should be preserved. /"French is wrong in thinking that once French soldiers leave they will be replaced by the Soviets or the Cubans. Chad needs France very much,"/ assures the "southern" minister of justice, Mr Djona Golo. Mr Mahamat Abba, who does not say three words without asking the French to leave, says: /"We will never cut our ties with France. Our culture is French."/

While waiting for the conflict to finally subside, the 1,100 French servicemen count the blows, keep the ferryboat working which still allows passage to Cameroon, save what can still be saved, insure contacts and lodgings for different negotiators who have come from Ndjamena, and, above all, take in the wounded. When the guns will have been silenced, the French will have the difficult task of reviving a capital full of unexploded shells, and whose shattered scenery looks like that of a country wounded by unprecedented trials.

9465

CSO: 4400

BRIEFS

AIDMAT ACCUSES HABRE--On Saturday 22 March, having learned from Bonn, where he was staying, of the resumption of hostilities in his country, Acyl Almat, Chadian minister for foreign affairs and cooperation, accused Hissene Habre, defense minister, of being a "trouble maker who has put Chad to fire and to the sword since his arrival in Ndjamma." The chairman of Chad's Revolutionary Democratic Council stressed, because of the "serious situation deliberately created" by Hissene Habre, that Mr Habre had "many times violated" the agreement of 18 August 1979 "signed by all of the conflicting parties" and "guaranteeing peace and stability." According to Acyl Almat, "Hissene Habre's refusal to demilitarize the city of Ndjamma, his wish to prevent the entrance of neutral forces into the capital, and the repeated violations of the ceasefire, demonstrate his bad faith." Finally, Mr Acyl appealed to the militants in his organization and to all of the soldiers on the field of battle, to make every effort to "repulse this aggression." He added, "We are also making a rousing appeal to the OAU and to the brother countries who have helped in signing the agreement at Lagos, to come to our aid again so that peace and unity may be protected." [Text] [Brazzaville LA SEMAINE AFRICAINE in French 27 Mar-2 Apr 80 p 2] 9174

FRANCE CONTINUES TO PROPOSE FEDERATION--France has not yet abandoned its idea of a Chadian federation. It was one of the proposals made to certain Chadian leaders by Mr Journiac during his last mission to Chad. It is known that the Elysee would like to involve Cameroon and Gabon in the settlement of the Chadian problem. Is this the reason for Mr Hirsch's first trip to Libreville on 24 March? [Text] [Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 24 Mar 80 p 17] 9341

CSO: 4400

CONFLICT, RENEWED UNREST REPORTED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 25 Mar 80 p 6

[Text] It is very difficult to know today, as in the past, exactly what is going on in the Comoro Islands. That is the report of Maurice Botbol, QUOTIDIEN DE LA REUNION correspondent, who, in a lengthy analysis of the situation in the archipelago, avers along with all the rest that one thing still seems certain now: "Almost 2 years after having resumed power, President Ahmed Abdallah finds himself facing serious economic difficulties on the one hand and increasingly active internal opposition on the other."

"Relatively isolated on the international level, despite recognition by the Organization of African Unity," he adds, "aided without much enthusiasm by France, shunned in international aid organizations, the Comoran regime still seems very shaky."

Especially as it still is not clear how President Abdallah intends to solve the very serious problems which are affecting his archipelago more and more acutely. No real development plan seems to have been set up for facing them.

In such conditions social unrest is becoming increasingly intense in the country. A series of conflicts rose to the surface last month: a strike by the wood workers; unrest in the secondary schools; and grumbling by the teachers.

Same claim for secondary school students and teachers: the right to create unions.

Of these three social movements (wood workers, teachers, students) which were set off at about the same time, it seems, Maurice Botbol notes, that the latter is the one that is the most structured and at the same time the most radicalized.

That is probably due to a long tradition of disputing in regard to power which has always shown up among the students, even in the days of Ali Soilih.

In face of the students' unrest, President Abdallah did not hesitate to have the army intervene on the occasion of a meeting. Followed by expulsions from the secondary school and arrests. Meanwhile the Comoran radio waged a violent campaign against the students.

In other respects, two members of the opposition, Messrs Mustapha Said Cheik and Abdallah Mohammed, were arrested. Arrests on one side and lawsuits on the other. One of the latter concerned a teacher doing his national service at Anjouan, Mr Abdallah Ahmed Ibrahim, who was accused, according to a decree, of having carried out "open maneuvers of such a nature as to jeopardize public safety and arouse hatred towards the government." Mr Ibrahim was sentenced to 37 months in prison.

On Grande Comore Island ten students arrested by the army were prosecuted by virtue of the same decree in a lawsuit, likewise in camera. Following the liberation of the imprisoned students, after a group of Comoran women had gone to the president and intervened, the strike of the establishments of the island on the whole ended.

For their part, Mustapha Said Cheik and Abdallah Mohammad, who were to have been tried on 4 March, found that their trials were, for no reason, postponed to a later date.

Comoran opposition is getting organized in spite of the repression. According to Maurice Bothol, in Paris, support for the prisoners and the strikers was organized by the Association of Trainees and Students of the Comoro Islands (ASSEC), and, in particular, the Association of Comoran Workers, who have organized several meetings during these past weeks in Paris. French lawyers have also been contacted and Amnesty International has been alerted. But in the Comoro Islands themselves, it seems that an active inside opposition is getting organized little by little in secret. It is publishing a propaganda sheet entitled 'The Voice of the People,' clandestinely distributed in the four islands, and calling for respect for democratic liberties and the defense of territorial integrity.

What has become of the mercenaries who had helped President Ahmed Abdallah to resume power? The correspondent of QUOTIDIEN DE LA REUNION writes:

"In this strained social, political and economic climate the only sure force on which the Ahmed Abdallah government can rely remains the mercenaries. Contrary to what one might believe, the latter have not disappeared from the archipelago. Very much to the contrary, they have taken root quite well. Bob Denard himself, whose departure had been loudly announced to allay the AOU's reservations regarding the new regime, regularly returns to the Comoro Islands, where he possesses very important economic interests."

"He still holds the monopoly on the importation of cars and spare parts for them in the Comoro Islands, thanks to his garage, SICCO, put into operation by another mercenary called "Christian." Aren't all the cars imported registered by chance in Bordeaux, which is Bob Denard's home town, and where he also owns a garage?"

According to the QUOTIDIEN: "The other mercenaries saw themselves get assigned to key positions in the administration; others were reconverted to the restaurant and hotel businesses: the bulk of the band is certainly present, always ready to intervene. President Abdallah is compelled to respect the provisions of the contract that he signed with them before the coup, under the terms of which he promised them local jobs and especially high salaries: about 10,000 French francs a month."

It is impossible, Mr Botbol concludes, to foresee what is going to happen in the coming months in the Comoro Islands. But it is certain that as they accumulate the tensions will do nothing but grow until a serious crisis shakes up the current regime.

"What role will the mercenaries play then? Therein lies the whole question. Once again the fate of the Comoro Islands is likely to end up in their hands."

Inset

Massive Aid

An article which appeared in DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE of 10 March calls attention to the serious economic difficulties which the Comoro Islands are experiencing. Some figures provide proof: whereas the archipelago must each year spend four billion CFA for its imports on the whole (including 500 million for petroleum products and 750 million for rice, meat and dairy products), the four crops which provide 97 percent of its exports (ylang-ylang, cloves, vanilla and copra) bring it only 2.5 billion CFA. And despite a massive aid which has amounted to 15.8 billion CFA francs since Ahmed Abdallah's return to power (half of which comes from the countries of the Gulf), the country is unable to solve its problems.

9498

CSO: 4400

DJIBOUTI

OPPOSITION PROTESTS ARRESTS, MISTREATMENT OF OPPONENTS

Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Mar 80 p 1

[Text] The Djibouti information center, an organization controlled by the opposition, in a recent communique denounced some "new arrests" in the small republic, as well as "the mistreatment of some 10 persons" at a police station. The report goes on: "Among those arrested are some minor officials and young militarymen, detained after an alleged 'attempt' against the person in charge of military security; this is the second such 'attempt' in several months. No one besides the authorities has established until now the actual existence of such 'attempts'. We are convinced that this is a classic machination."

The information center protests "vehemently against the rise of unwarranted violence that the Hassan Gouled government is trying to impose not only against its declared opponents but also against anyone considered 'not very active' on behalf of the sole party, the People's Rally for Progress." In December 1979, five French attorneys denounced the use of torture in Djibouti prisons (LE MONDE, 6 Dec 79).

9341

CSO: 4400

TOURE: GUINEANS ARE BELIEVERS, NOT COMMUNISTS

Conakry HOROYA in French 8 Mar 80 pp 3, 5-6

[Speech by President Sekou Toure during visit to Brazil; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Mr Governor, members of the government, ladies and gentlemen:

We wish to thank you most sincerely for the welcome you have given us. Since our arrival, contacts we have made have enabled us to better appreciate your major concerns and helped you to understand the concerns of Guinean leaders.

We have discovered that we share many viewpoints and that there are many similarities between us by virtue of the like political and moral values underlying or guiding our creative activities at the head of the institutions and organizations entrusted to us by our two peoples.

When people say that Guinea is a communist country, that is a lie. We are not communist and if we were, we would be the first to say so because we have no complexes before anyone on earth. We say that Guinea is not a communist country, but it is not opportunism that prompts us to say so, just because we are here in Brazil. If that were the case, we would have proclaimed in Conakry, Dakar, Paris or New York that Guinea is a communist country. Why are we not communist? Because our people are people with deep faith and our education has made us believers. For us, there is no opposition between religion and revolution, between religion and socialism. That is what we claim. Religion means recognizing the existence of God, Who created all things: men, nature and all things. It means obeying His will. Religion means following the rules set forth by the Koran and the Bible concerning man, the family, society, all mankind, having a worthy and honest conduct and being useful to others. Revolution means getting along with others, working with others, achieving objectives for the common good. While being a profoundly religious people, we have proclaimed a people's regime that wants to build socialism. Consequently, we are not tied to the Soviet Union or China or any other socialist country in the world. Nor shall we ever be out of respect for ourselves. Our people must believe that they are equal to all others. That is why we try to cooperate

with all countries, and when we speak of cooperation, we are not talking about begging. We shall never be beggars because we believe in God. We shall never be beggars because we know history. Let us take a look at the world. Was there any talk of the East and the West 500 or 300 years ago? Did people talk about the United States or the Soviet Union or about lining up behind them? What will the world be like in another 200 or 300 years?

That is why our line is very clear and it is favorable to cooperation. What does that mean? It means being useful to each other, as we said in Brasilia. Guinea is a country that God has blessed with wealth. It has very great economic potential such as one finds in few other countries in the world. Today we can tell people: "Come, the door is open. Come and do what you wish." We can tell the Guinean people: "Come, sit down and watch while others develop Guinea." We shall not do so because God has given us a conscience. In so doing, we would be committing a crime against future generations. That is why we tell Guineans not to put out their hands to beg.

We have confidence in Brazil and we hope that loyal, lasting and fruitful cooperation may exist between Brazil and Guinea in particular and between Brazil and Africa in general. We are open to that cooperation.

11,464

CSO: 4400

REBUTTAL OF 'JEUNE AFRIQUE' ARTICLE ON OAU TROOPS IN CHAD

Conakry HOROYA in French 19 Mar 80 pp 1-2

[Editorial: "When JEUNE AFRIQUE Slavishly Obeys Its Masters"]

[Text] The ignoble weekly called JEUNE AFRIQUE has just published an article which confirms the fact -- if there were any need to do so -- that the newspaper is nothing but the tool of certain neocolonialist intrigues.

The method used by JEUNE AFRIQUE is absolutely foul: A number of articles are published that blow the horn of an African patriotism as strident as it is hollow. The naive allow themselves to be taken in and abandon their vigilance and any semblance of critical spirit, ready to accept whatever JEUNE AFRIQUE writes as the revealed truth. Then the newspaper hits them over the head with a massive lie, a la Hitler, who once said that when one tells a lie, it has to be big enough so that no one will doubt it.

We suspected that because of the resounding African victory in Zimbabwe, Africa would be attacked in its very vitals by disappointed neocolonialism, dumbfounded by the victory. We knew that neocolonialism would entrust the lowest, most vile tasks to one or the other of its "fifth columns." And it was precisely JEUNE AFRIQUE which, in the name of those "fifth columns" in Africa, requested and obtained from its masters the sad honor of being the first to deal the odiously low blows.

In the 19 March 1980 edition of JEUNE AFRIQUE, No 1000, Siradiou Diallo (page 43, column 3) writes, and we quote:

"For lack of means, the leaders of the three countries (Benin, the Congo and Guinea-Conakry (sic) appointed by the OAU to set up an intervention force in Chad requested logistical aid from France, whose troops they were to relieve in Ndjamena. Moreover, they reportedly made a secret move to dissuade President Giscard d'Estaing from withdrawing his detachment based in Chad...." End of quote. We would note that the ellipsis is that of the author.

Peoples of Africa, you will remember that it was the OAU which entrusted to the three nations: the People's Republic of Benin, the People's Republic

of the Congo and the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, this great mission of peace in Chad, which one Siradiou Diallo knows perfectly well, inasmuch as he mentions it.

You also know that when our continental organization entrusts a mission to a number of its members, it provides the means, which poor Siradiou Diallo knows also.

Finally, you know that when the OAU deems that it cannot face up to such a situation it has taken on alone, it reserves the right to appeal to a given organization or power as long as such actions do not compromise the continent or the interests of its peoples, as neocolonialist agent Siradiou Diallo knows also.

That is why you must understand that Siradiou's maneuver, in the service of imperialism, is solely aimed at discrediting the African Continent by claiming that its continental organization, the OAU, which was to replace the French troops in Chad by troops from three of its member states, preferred to bend to the French Government in order to bring the latter to recolonize Chad. The aim of those behind Siradiou Diallo is clear: They want to establish that the OAU is a puppet ready to submit to a given foreign power in order to sell off a given part of Africa and that in fact, neocolonialism must not worry too much about the victory of the people of Zimbabwe. One has to besmirch the OAU in order to liquidate it.

These are a few of the tasks entrusted to the pathetic Siradiou, who, in the conditional tense so dear to professional mentors ("they reportedly made a secret move"), goes so far as to insinuate that the People's Republic of Benin, the People's Republic of the Congo and the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea have asked the French troops to remain in Chad and to do what the ellipsis implies.

When Siradiou Diallo writes an article, it is for the purpose of beating his own established record of betrayal.

The People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, whose total willingness and intransigence with respect to the defense of the independence and sovereignty of the Guinean nation, the defense of the independence and sovereignty of African nations and the participation in the fight to liberate African nations still under the foreign yoke is well known to all imperialisms, all colonialisms and all neocolonialisms, the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, we repeat, proud of the great honor that all the Chadian political factions, all the Chadian people and the OAU have done it by asking it to help maintain peace and safeguard security and tranquillity in Chad, is more than determined to do all its duties, as it has always done.

As for Siradiou Diallo, JEUNE AFRIQUE and their masters, they are too contemptible to have another word written about them.

Ready for the revolution! HOROYA

BRIEFS

USSR TRADE UNION DELEGATION--A Soviet trade union delegation is currently visiting our country. It is headed by Comrade Mikhael Orlov, chairman of the Regional Council of Moscow Trade Unions and a member of the Central Council of Trade Unions in the USSR. The delegation arrived on Monday evening, 3 March 1980, and was welcomed at the airport by trade union leaders from the three federations in the capital, led by the National Committee of Workers of Guinea. The visit fits into the framework of the strengthening of cooperation between Soviet and Guinean workers, but in addition, it provides an opportunity to exchange experiences in all fields in order to improve production and productivity. [Text] [Conakry HOROYA in French 5 Mar 80 p 4] 11,464

CSO: 4400

FACTORS IN NATION'S POLITICAL STRUCTURE EXAMINED

London WEST AFRICA in English 21, 28 Apr 80

[Two part article by Alex Rondos]

[21 Apr 80, pp 694-697]

[Text]

"COMPETITION is healthy for sport, but in politics, what must triumph is team spirit." President Houphouët-Boigny recently told a *Le Monde* correspondent. This was a typically cryptic presidential insight offered into the way of Ivorian politics. It is also an indication of the way he would like things to go — as they almost certainly will — during the critically important period of decision making in the next few months.

This is the year of the party congress, held every five years. Already all the preparatory commissions are hard at work and their recommendations are likely to be adopted with little dispute at the congress. This is also the year of the new Five Year Plan. These two events have served to concentrate the mind on what is for many Ivorians the most important issue facing the political future of the country: the succession to President Houphouët-Boigny — *l'après Houphouët*. In this context, it is also thought that there will be a ministerial reshuffle following the congress which could see the consolidation of the progress some of the younger ministers and the reintroduction of some older but still very powerful faces. Last December, the President sought with great indignation to suppress the wave of rumours that were circulating — and obviously instigated by camps of rivals within the elite — by

announcing his own candidacy for a further five year term as President. There was reference to possible constitutional change regarding the presidency — a change à l'américaine, as it has been intimated — which suggests that there might be a move to install a Vice-President. That comment alone was enough to encourage more speculation about the constitutional and political intricacies of how certain possible candidates for the job would have to be shifted to make the plan possible. Finally, the President expressed his wish to democratise the political structure.

The immediate reaction to most of these suggested changes has been a headlong rush to Ivorians and other observers to *chercher le candidat*. Names are put forward, great discussion ensues as to the nature of the political options and manoeuvres required for that person to be moved up the political ladder, or sideways. The President is aware of these speculations and he has often been responsible for rendering them invalid. No single politician — apart from the President — has ever been allowed to acquire too long and substantial momentum of popularity. Hence the relevance of his comment about "team spirit". The loyal self-effacement of a man such as M. Philippe Yaco, the constitutional successor to the President, which has been responsible to a large extent for his present power.

While President Houphouët — Boigny remains the dominant force in Ivorian politics critical decisions, such as those that will have to be taken in the near future, always involve lengthy discussion. They are unappetising to the bystander in search of publicised manifestations of dissent in the party. But the President's notion of team spirit is particular to Ivory Coast and to his concept of governing the country. To him, the team is a number of things. In a paternal sense, its consummation is the nation. In reality it is the ability of the captain to manipulate the various members according to their relative strengths, so that a consensus is achieved along which the entire structure can operate smoothly. This includes the rise of the youth in the Ivorian political scene, a factor which will be ignored at the peril of those in power. There are the traditional powers which still exercise immense influence over tribal politics — a factor that has been crucial in Ivory Coast's political balance. However, there is another team which is at the core of the system.

To understand Ivorian politics is to appreciate and have the full details of the relationships between a number of family groups. A group may be widespread. It is represented at the highest instances in the government and the party, though some of its most influential members, especially those who are traditional chiefs of the older generation, remain in their locality where they exercise remarkable influence over the political decision making in Abidjan or Yamoussoukro. One is talking about a group of people who have concentrated economic, political and administrative power in their hands by a complex system of intermarriage and interlocking financial interests. It has been the failure to have a precise knowledge of this group in society — and any independent study of it has yet to be made and is unlikely in the present political climate — which makes any analyses of the Ivorian political system extremely difficult. Yet it is this group which forms the ultimate team. If it is regarded as ostentatious in its material life, it is inscrutable in its political behaviour. A community of interests binds the members of the groups together and they are both tolerated and kept in check by the President. Naturally, within such groups there are internal rivalries that develop; prestige can be enhanced in various ways but eventually the outcome is to be firmly identified with that inaccessible élite.

Opening or closing ranks?

The question therefore is: are the conditions in Ivory Coast today such that this élite will open or close its ranks at a time when a decision, either way, will have to be taken? It is remarkable the degree to which Ivorians feel the dearth of information as to their political future. And the normal sources of information — an informal filter through which information passes from the entourage of those in the highest positions of the country — have been noticeably dry of late. This is reflected in the inevitable reply to any question that is politically delicate: "We shall have to see what *Le Président* has to say". The President, however, replies, as he recently did to *Le Monde* in that same interview, "The presidential thoughts cannot be divulged before the congress."

The President has talked of democratising the system in the Ivorian way. This can happen in a number of ways. First he can release some of the political pressure by indicating the exact course towards the succession. This has been suggested as the appointment of a Vice-President, after the necessary constitutional changes have been made at the Congress.

The question of who that will be has exercised the minds of many. As has already been suggested, it is something of a red herring to speculate on this subject to such an extent that the structure of political decision-making and the pressures to which it is most vulnerable are obscured. Suffice it to say that the obvious candidate at the moment is the currently designated constitutional successor in the event of the President's absence from office either by travel, illness or death, M. Philippe Yacé, the Secretary General of the Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire and the President of the National Assembly. The latter office makes him the constitutional successor.

Since there is no question of permitting the existence of a second party, any loosening of the political system will have to occur within the PDCI. This is where the greatest discussion and care will be required. There are to be municipal, legislative and presidential elections after the congress. The last of these is a foregone conclusion. The first of these will offer some novelties. At present, the role of mayor is undertaken by the prefects. The previous attempt to introduce municipal elections, in

late 1978, ended in a fiasco when the President cancelled the results after what was apparently the mismanagement and interference in the electoral process. Voters in 26 towns will have the right this year to elect their mayor. At a local level in urban centres this will serve to relax the administrative grip.

Competition at elections

In the legislative elections, there will be competition on the party list. This will mark a profound change to the previous practice which consisted of a three-tier selection of candidates. Traditionally, each locality puts forward its candidate before the regional party authorities. They then choose a shortlist from which the Political Bureau of the Party selects its candidate. What lies behind this method is a lengthy series of negotiations at the local and regional level so that a compromise and consensus is reached. In essence it is a system created and aimed at acknowledging the tribal differences within the country — there are over 60 — while at the same time containing them. This has led one of Ivory Coast's most prominent academics, the Doyen of the *Faculté des Lettres* of the University of Abidjan, Lancine Sylla, to describe the PDCI in his book, *Tribalisme et Parti Unique en Afrique Noire*, as a "federation of Ivorian tribes."

It is often said of President Houphouët Boigny and his brand of rule that he combines an apparent autocracy — albeit a very benign one — with discreet consultation. This is absolutely true, even though there have been occasions when he would appear to have ridden roughshod over his closest advisers; the offer of refuge to Bokassa is the obvious case. The normal practice has sometimes been brought forcefully into the limelight when the President announces that he will hold a dialogue with aggrieved and interested parties if there is a problem. Similarly, it is known that there have been occasions when he has been held back from following a particular course by the forceful intervention of the senior politicians. It is a system which has required a finely-tuned instinctive touch which President Houphouët-Boigny has managed to display. This is his strength, and possibly the country's weakness as his departure from the political scene comes closer as he ages.

What is more, he has to face new pressures which are now more pressing than ever: how to accommodate politically the aspirations of a growing mass of youth who are pouring out at various levels of the educational system, many of whom feel that their way is blocked? The temptation is generally to say that such expressions of discontent from the youth and the younger cadres in the administration have been heard before and that they have been dealt with adequately. However, the country is conscious that it is ruled by the same team, with very rare exceptions, that brought the country independence. That makes 20 years; ten years ago there was an important outbreak of student frustration. The frustration takes on many forms as youth is divided within itself by education, social class and achievement. The younger cadres in the administration refer to the gerontocracy, but it should be made clear that many of these are conscious that they are missing out on something which they would very much like to have rather than condemning something. One senses a certain lassitude — the feeling that though the prevailing influence of the old guard is beginning to pall, they are not going to set about any revolutionary activity. Resentment ensues.

There is then the groundswell of young people who have received an uncompleted education. They have not managed to enter the secondary system and job opportunities are scarcer now than ever. The common refrain is that these children are "lost to agriculture," as serious a prospect for Ivory Coast as any, given the country's devotion to agricultural expansion as the foundation of economic growth. With the reduction in economic growth that is predicted for the next few years, the government is going to have to take serious political decisions to placate the youth of Ivorian society who form almost half the population and who will be emerging on to the employment market in growing numbers in the next few years.

There is the feeling in Abidjan that the needs of the younger generation are treated with a certain complacency by the powers that be. People refer to the glaring social gaps that can be found in a city like Abidjan. On more than one occasion, the outlying suburbs of Abidjan which contain the mass of its poorer population, have been compared to the expense and wealth of the Plateau, the commercial hub, and Cocody

described as Ivory Coast's Soweto. That Ivorians, normally proud of their economic achievement, should draw such an analogy makes for a considerable change in the political atmosphere in the capital.

Undoubtedly, events across the border in Liberia, following on last year's June 4 revolution in Ghana, will have come as a severe jolt to President Houphouët-Boigny and those closest to him politically. This will cast a shadow over the proceedings in the next few months. President Houphouët-Boigny had staked much on the alliance and existence of the regime in Monrovia — in many senses acting as a kindred political spirit diplomatically. Discreet though it was, President Houphouët-Boigny was of considerable assistance to Monrovia over last year's April 14 riots. Large consignments of rice, of which there have been shortages in parts of Ivory Coast, were sent to Liberia.

Another area which the regime will have to deal with on the political level is the change that is gradually taking place in the structure of tribal politics. A new generation, no longer satisfied with remaining in their respective localities, is emerging. These new men, who have prestige derived from their traditional roles as chiefs, are also ambitious in the national sense. They will move to Abidjan and turn the national capital into their focus of attention. The implications of this sociological and demographic change cannot be under-estimated in their relation to the present structure of the party, and its obvious attempt to reconcile the tribal differences of Ivory Coast. It could become a dangerously divisive instrument used by politicians seeking power bases.

Similarly, the differences in regional development, though not as conspicuous as was once the case, still remains very much the prerogative of the President. In practice, he has been able, in the last five years, to use the massive increase in the commodity revenue derived from cocoa and coffee and which is the responsibility of the Caisse de Stabilisation et Soutien aux Produits Agricoles, for regional projects.

This, however, while a crucial factor in the political equation in the Ivory Coast, just as with the inevitable reform of the State companies, falls within the discussion of the economic options facing Ivory Coast and will be dealt with next week.

The lynchpin

The lynchpin of the entire system is President Houphouët-Boigny. To return to his sporting analogy, every team needs a captain. This captain has maintained a squad from which he can draw assistance and political support. Translated in political terms, Felix Houphouët-Boigny has presided over and fostered a complex system of checks and balances in a society that is changing rapidly. This has been achieved to a large extent by the judicious application of patronage and persuasion which has created a very tightly-knit group at the top of the country — which in some social sectors, notably the traditional, has a considerable degree of support — the very nature of whose existence has to a large extent obscured the distinction between political status and state structure. The very ease with which people will refer to the president as the ultimate arbiter suggests that he will now have to prepare for the day when someone else, or a group of people, to take over the responsibility of the system. The problem is that the secrets of that system are the President and reside in his talent at reconciling competitive groups in the country while maintaining what has now become an aura of veneration. Whether he is aware himself of the pressures that this system will be subjected to — he has seen examples, manifesting themselves in neighbouring countries — is one of the major questions. If he can perceive this, will he be able to persuade those closest to him who are powerful that the time for some sacrifice has come, this is the next stage of the problem. He has managed to sustain a system the symptoms of which when unchecked in countries very close to Ivory Coast have caused indignation, resentment and violence.

[28 Apr 80, pp 735-737]

[Text] In his second article on the Ivory Coast, Alex Rondos considers the two main groups contributing to the country's economy and how the state responds to them.

THE most important economic action taken by Ivory Coast recently has been its withdrawal from the international cocoa market. This has been followed up by the joint action taken with other producers to break up the international cocoa agreement. It is a policy which indicates the nature of the Ivorian economy; its mainstays are the small farmer and the foreigner. As usual, President Houphouët Boigny, without mincing his words, made the point in his address to the nation last December 9:

"From 1960 to 1979, taking into account diverse factors, labour difficulties, rises in the price of fertiliser and energy, fall in purchasing power, etc., the European prices have been multiplied by five, and even ten, for some products. Cocoa, however, which cost 250 CFA francs in 1959, we are now offered this year between 500 and 600 CFA francs. Now, the African farmer has to wait five or six years for his first harvest. The rapid ageing of the plant requires fertilisers which will have become five times more costly; the necessary battle against capids also demands products that are no less expensive. This is without taking into

account the material needed for the upkeep of the plant." The President concluded: "In 10 or 15 years at the latest, I fear that coffee and cocoa production will only decrease because our youth will not pursue the manual labour required with archaic instruments and for a price that is scarcely remunerative . . . Will the peasants who only seek to work . . . be alienated by lack of understanding and egoism? We are worried." These are the words of a farmer with foresight who also happens to be in a position to do something about the conditions of the Ivorian farmer.

The President's words indicated the urgency of the problem. For if the news from Ivory Coast has tended to be dominated by cries of alarm at the rapid rise of the external debt and its servicing, or at the immense cost of the sugar projects in the north, whose success is still a long way off, or the need for reform of wasteful state companies, there is the background of these events which consists of an economy in which there are certain structural defects, some of which are implicit in the economic strategy and others that can be corrected a little less painfully.

A useful enough generalisation would be that the Ivorian economy consists of two main contributors, the small farmer and the foreigner. The regulator is the state--a state of a peculiar type, as was suggested last week, because it comes close to being synonymous with a vaguely identifiable community of financial and political interests. It is now almost routine to remind everyone that cocoa and coffee represent at least 70 percent of foreign revenue

earnings. To take the 1978 figures which have now been confirmed, 39 per cent of the total value of exports consisted of cocoa and cocoa products while 26.2 per cent was taken up by coffee. And 1978 was a bad year for Ivorian cocoa. With the continuing decrease in timber exports, the proportionate role of these two commodities has been considerably enhanced. In light of these simple statistics there are two main reasons why the authorities in Ivory Coast have reason to worry. The first, on which they have now acted, is the obvious vulnerability of commodity prices on the international

market. The second worry is much more acute because of the increasing role of revenue derived from coffee and cocoa in the Ivorian economy. Not only is the success of the cocoa and coffee strategy of Ivory Coast one of the basic reasons for its credit-worthiness among western financial sources -- which are now becoming more private than multilateral or official -- but there has also been a significant shift in the structure of sources of investment in the budget, especially the Investment Budget which reveals a growing formal dependence on the commodity revenues. Coupled with

this is the observation that sooner or later a certain coherence will have to be imposed on the role of the Caisse de Stabilisation et Soutien aux Produits Agricoles.

Sources of investment

The 25 per cent increase in this year's Investment Budget, Budget special d'investissement et d'équipement, to 300bn. CFA francs (it was 239,466bn. in 1979) has been mistaken as an over-optimistic, if not rash, increase in expenditure, dictated by political criteria. However, this year's rise consists largely of a regularisation of commitments made last year largely by the Caisse. There are three main sources of investment-financing in the BSIE: receipts from internal taxes which come under the responsibility of the Treasury; foreign loans, all of which are now controlled by the Caisse Autonome d'Amortissement; and contributions from the Caisse de Stabilisation. The significant factor in the last two years has been the reversal of roles between the CAA and the Caisse de Stabilisation giving the latter the preponderant role in budget financing. In other words, many of the projects currently undertaken, such as a massive road expansion scheme, will depend on the coffers of the Caisse. The concern that is expressed today in Abidjan is not that the money from the Caisse is in any way misused, even though one or two of the investments may be criticised, but rather that it is an autonomous body, the money of which can be used with only retrospective reference in a later budget.

The point is that since 1975, with the massive rise in coffee and cocoa prices, the surplus in the Caisse rose to the extent that since that year, the Caisse has contributed 650bn. CFA francs to the BSIE. This source of financing has tended to be used in an *ad hoc* manner. However, its role is now too important for there not to be some order installed in the organisation of budget financing.

While the Caisse is not directly involved in the problems surrounding the sugar complexes in the north, they are symptomatic of the need for order. A combination of political expediency, to placate some of the northern political interests, poor negotiation and encouraged by foreign interests has led to a curtailed commitment (there are now only six instead of the original 12 complexes intended) of 250bn. CFA francs, 80bn. of which is accounted for in this year's BSIE. The former sum represents 14 per cent of the external debt. While sugar remains the most serious problem facing the economy in the immediate future, there are hopes that outlets will be found for the mounting production. It is thought that by the end of 1983, production will have reached 300,000 tonnes. The Ivorians are hoping that an arrangement can be made with the EEC and their sugar agreement, in which they could not participate at its initiation because production had not begun. There is also the hope that the market of the Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine will absorb some of the excess.

The picture that should emerge so far is one where the exposed commodities are now taking up a vital formal role in financing the expansion of the economy. The Ivorians are therefore conforming totally to the notion of comparative advantage. The trouble is that if in international terms it has paid off as far as revenue is concerned, the effects often seep into the internal economy. The advantages bestowed upon the coffee and cocoa farmer are considerable. They rely on benevolent taxes, cheap foreign labour and the knowledge that the producer price has always been guaranteed and adhered to. It should never be forgotten that coffee and cocoa producer prices in Ivory Coast,

recently raised from 250 CFA francs a kg to 300, are no higher than anywhere else in West Africa. Similarly the farmers are also aware that the State, through the Caisse de Stabilisation, therefore takes for itself 50 per cent of the current Ivorian earnings on the international market. The lapse has been in food production. It is to this that the government intends to turn its attention. The President suggested this in his December address to the nation and is confirmed by the plans to assist farmers, in some cases giving them free fertiliser and other equipment. While it is never possible to assess the exact cereal production in the country because of the stocking that takes place at the village and family level, the government now intends to provide assistance and management, especially in the north, where there is the potential for food production. Following a policy not dissimilar to that in coffee and cocoa the state will intervene in regulating the producer prices and therefore providing more stability in peasant income.

The reason why such emphasis is given to the role of the two primary commodities is that their influence is now being seen in industrial policies. It would, however, be wrong to conceive of industrialisation in terms of purely technical potential and constraint. The fundamental point about industry and much of the service sector in Ivory Coast is that it remains over 50 per cent in foreign control. Relying on the figures produced at the end of 1978, the Ivorian state has a 33.01 per cent stake in the industrial capital, private Ivorians have 11.65 per cent and France has 33.98 per cent. The rest is spread among a number of western states and Japan. Ivory Coast has pursued a policy of import substitution which means that 70.2 per cent of the sales were in the domestic market. Industrial exports accounted for 32 per cent of all exports.

There is now a move to favour export-orientated industry. This was suggested by the World Bank in their report, *Challenge of Success* and there is every indication that it will be pursued by the government and reflected in the next Five-Year Plan. To a large extent import substitution met its match in the limited potential of the domestic market. Furthermore it has become evident that import substitution has led to a lack of integration in industry at various levels. The situation was aggravated, as the World

Bank team noted at the time, by the fact that because much of the industry is foreign owned, the Ivorian subsidiaries are supplied by the parent companies with the semi-processed goods.

The problems, however, are human. That is to say Ivory Coast has a population of which 50 per cent is under 20 years of age. It has an educational system in which, in 1978, there were 892,135 children in primary schools (of which 535,000 were taught by televised education), out of a population of 7,800,000. Of these only 143,221 went on to secondary education. Within the latter system there is a heavy drop-out rate after the premier cycle. The pressure on the job market is not only going to grow, and very rapidly in the next few years, but many of those on the market will be literate and attracted to urban employment.

With this background in mind, the present structure of Ivorian industry, especially the extent to which it is foreign owned, the need for changes becomes vividly apparent to the authorities. It is believed that with an industrial base that is founded on processing of local raw materials, especially agricultural produce for the export market, will lead to a decentralisation of industry away from Abidjan towards the local centres of production; it will prevent the migration towards the cities and will contribute to the growth of a domestic market.

What is felt most keenly, therefore, is the apparent lack of entrepreneur initiative by the private Ivorian citizen. This is surely one of the basic contradictions that has emerged in the Ivorian economic system.

A few year's ago, the then Minister of Finance and Economy, M. Konan Bedie, spoke of turning the Ivorian society of the peasant into one of shareholders. The present state of affairs points to the absence of that initiative, in spite of the opening of the Stock Exchange in Abidjan. The State is the main investor, and it has until recently borrowed heavily from external sources. This leaves three problems for Ivorian strategists, which are best dealt with in reverse order of priorities.

There is the external debt which is the object of fairly wild speculation at times. It has been calculated by a publication as reliable as *Murchie's Tropics and Mediterranean* that the ratio of debt service

to exports could rise to 30 per cent by next year. It will be in the next three years that many of the debts fall due for Ivory Coast. In Abidjan, ministerial officials merely observe that at least half of the contracted debts have not been disbursed and the state could at any given time, though with difficulty, opt out of those engagements. The consequences for the internal economic policies would be serious, however. Many of these debts (the total stood at 968.8bn. CFA francs at the end of 1978) were incurred by the almost wanton recourse to external financing by State companies. While the State has reduced considerably its foreign borrowings, it has made an important gesture to putting some order internally by entrusting all external debts and their management to the CAA.

Political Challenge

The state companies, Societes are, in fact, the second major problem. Created to compensate for the lack of private initiative in certain sectors of the economy, there are now 30 financed totally by the state and another 16 where the state participation is above 50 percent. While some have been strikingly successful, there is no doubt that the general opinion is that they have been on the whole inefficient, in some cases totally lacking in any form of acceptable bookkeeping. They represent, however, a serious political challenge. They have been, and still are, a very useful territory for political patronage. Directorships and senior management positions all too often have been motivated by political favour. It has been well over a year since the President promised that they would be reformed, and still nothing has been done. With the Party Congress so close, it will be difficult to see how any such reforms will be announced soon. The basic proposition, though never mentioned publicly, is that they should be turned over into private hands.

This then is the crucial issue. Who are the people in Ivory Coast who can become the "shareholders"? At present Ivory Coast resembles a bourgeois state--state capitalism or controlled liberalism notwithstanding--with an entrepreneurial bourgeoisie. Twenty years after independence in which the liberal path to economic expansion has been advocated, and there are many Ivorians who feel that there is a complete absence of an entrepreneurial

group to assume the responsibilities for investment. For instance, there is a movement in Abidjan to enhance the role of small- and medium-scale Ivorian enterprises. One senior government official whose role it is to provide assistance in this sector justified the need to expand considerably the scope of this activity by saying that "the revolt must be contained".

The revolt he sees is from the growing mass of unemployed. For the moment, bank interests are too high and anyway, there is the more theoretical issue: people just do not become entrepreneurs overnight. It is an ethos that has to be instilled over generations.

If economic logic, within the Ivorian terms of reference, should dictate that the

authorities take this last problem extremely seriously, then political pressures should persuade. In the meantime, it would appear that the structure of the Ivorian economy is moving relentlessly towards an explicit dependence on its basic sources of wealth — coffee and cocoa, with timber production being kept in check with difficulty — and the attendant vulnerability to the whims, and even dictates of the foreign market. The structure of the Gross Domestic Product is in danger of becoming too dependent on a fine base where two or three commodities will play a predominant role in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy.

The combination of the role that the Caisse de Stabilisation is playing in the budget financing and the new direction in industrial policy towards processing and export points to the fact that Ivory Coast is moving relentlessly towards a situation where, all things being well, the financial accounts will look healthy but where the political account will become under more pressure and where the entire structure becomes highly vulnerable to the buffeting

from the international economic circumstances. The basic need, however, for the Ivory Coast, is that if it is to continue on its present advocated economic course, a serious bout of decentralisation and real indigenisation is called for. Otherwise the contradiction of the small farmer, the foreigner and interests incumbent in the Ivorian state will lead to an impasse which will only frustrate masses — some of them with an education — who are caught between the reluctance to return to the fields and the lack of openings in other economic sectors. The State has played an important role in directing the fortunes of Ivory Coast's economy. The trouble is that it has been a cushion on which many find comfort. For an economy that seeks to follow the liberal path to development the State has become a source of security — not to say power — for a few and a source of expectation for the majority. There is, therefore, justification in suggesting that the State and those who represent it must define its role more clearly for the future along the lines of the simple choice; more incentive for all or temporary paralysis.

CSO: 4420

KENYA

U.S. WHEAT SALES AIMED AT INSURING STABILITY

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 24 Mar 80 p 42

[Text] [There is a] shortage of cereals throughout east Africa, where a drought has been severe for many months. This is well understood in Uganda, where the situation is more serious because it adds to the effects of the war. But the problem is also found in Kenya, all the more so because the price paid to corn producers is very low, which encourages them to sell their harvest in contraband in neighboring countries rather than by going through state organizations.

President Daniel Arap Moi obtained a contract from the United States last month for the delivery of 60,000 tons of corn, 30,000 tons of wheat and 15,000 tons of rice. The United States, whose investments in Kenya amount to more than \$210 million and has just acquired the possibility of using Mombasa's installations for its military fleet, is particularly interested in this country's stability....

9341

CSO: 4400

MALI

BRIEFS

DROP IN AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT--London, 7 May (AFP)--Due to drought, agricultural production in Mali dropped markedly, despite the support of the government and the efforts of the peasants. This was reported by the minister of rural development, Mr N'Fagnanama, in Bamako on Tuesday. The production of sorghum, millet and corn is estimated at a total of 950,000 tons this year, as opposed to 1.9 million last year. Production of peanuts did not exceed 109,000 tons, as opposed to 125,000 last year and production of rice was 185,000 tons as opposed to (250,000) the year before. Cotton and dah [type of hibiscus used in beverages] however, grown in a zone with better irrigation, and a more structured work force, continue to progress and reached the record figures of 3,105,000 and 2,200,000 tons, Mr Kone indicated. [Paris AFP in French 1025 GMT 7 May 80 AB]

CSO: 4400

PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES NATION'S PROBLEMS

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 14 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "The Prime Minister's Address to the Nation--SSR (Seewoosagur Ramgoolam) Foresees the End of Our Difficulties 'by 1982'--New Attacks against the Press--'We Are Destroying Ourselves,' He Notes"]

[Excerpts] But he notes in the same breath: "But unfortunately in fields, in factory, in government offices, our people have allowed themselves to indulge in activities which result in a lessening of their moral fibre and loss of national identity."

According to Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the cyclones that recently visited us were heavy blows to the country, especially at a time when the post-devaluation programs were being prepared. The consequences will not be heavy ones to bear to the extent that we take up the challenge. And SSR noted that the spirit of solidarity that has always animated the Mauritian people was again manifested after the recent catastrophes. The Mauritian people thus showed their cohesion and their unity by rapidly setting about the task of reconstruction. In the face of such calamities, SSR said, we can count only on ourselves, for the future of the country is in our own hands. If we fought for independence together, there is no doubt that we shall face the future as a united nation.

Confidently, the prime minister declares that there are indications that the country has got moving, and that if this tendency is maintained, "we will have got out of our difficulties by 1982." What is needed is patience, and a reorientation of economic and social affairs. It is also necessary to ensure political and social stability. SSR salutes, in passing, the private sector, which has given the government its close cooperation.

The prime minister realizes that the year 1979 was a difficult one and that the present year began under painful conditions. To add to all these some "irresponsible political difficulties" are endangering the very fiber of our existence. It is as if we had set up everything to destroy ourselves, SSR remarks. In order to succeed and prosper, a change of attitude is necessary. And above all, we must transcend our differences in order to seek grounds for understanding together.

But an atmosphere of instability and tension presently prevails. The prime minister then accused the press--which has become a privileged scapegoat--of being responsible in large measure for this state of affairs--a press "which, with persistence and without any other consideration, has generated indifference and irresponsibility among the population." Bitterly, SSR declares that the press has never sought to temper its criticisms with wisdom and sobriety...and has sown confusion in the public mind. According to the prime minister, a responsible press should "embark on constructive work instead of creating a psychosis of defeatism in the public."

The present situation, SSR notes, has produced the emergence of a category of prophets and experts who claim to hold the solution to all our problems.

Likewise, "economists, trade unions, presidents of organizations, and editors in chief emburden themselves of this exclusive wisdom."

The country, the prime minister points out, needs a political consensus. Disappointed, SSR indicates that since his message of last year, the situation has scarcely improved. Economic instability, blind opposition, unemployment, a high rate of absenteeism, and social irresponsibility persist. "Instead of spending unnecessary time on dialectical and academic discussions, we should go back to the basics of life to stop the rot that has continued to spread in the country."

Furthermore, sterile opposition should be stopped, for the challenge that we have to take up today "is by far the greatest."

For the first time since independence, SSR notes, there is a serious danger to stability and to our existence as a nation. It is a situation that we cannot tolerate, declares SSR.

It is a time for sacrifices. Within this framework, the prime minister calls on the Mauritian population, especially the younger generation and the press, "to forego immediate satisfactions in order to build up our economy."

He calls also for an awakening of the national consciousness. We must make 1980 the year of renaissance, and pool all our resources to safeguard the unity and territorial integrity of the country. "Let us transcend our ideological or other differences and work for the higher interest of the people and of the country," SSR concludes.

11267
CSO: 4400

PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSES FCSU MEETING

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 30 Mar 80 pp 1, 4

[Article: "SSR (Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam) to the General Assembly of the FCSU (Federation of Civil Service Unions): 'A Communist Government Will Not Respect Liberty'--K. Venkatasamy Continues as President"]

[Text] "There presently exists in Mauritius a sickness that consists in humiliating all the democratic institutions of the country. If one is not satisfied with the performance of the present government, what government would you have liked to have? A communist government, which will not respect people's liberty? This government has created a climate of peace and harmony in which everyone is free to do what he likes. But the problem lies in the fact that people do not want to give the credit to this government, which has shown itself capable of establishing liberty in the country." This declaration is from Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, prime minister, on the occasion of the annual General Assembly of the Federation of Civil Service Unions (FCSU) yesterday afternoon.

In his speech, Sir Seewoosagur made the point that the civil servants have an important role to play in carrying out the policy of the government, so that the development of the country can be conducted under the best possible conditions. The PM heaped praise on Koomara Venkatasamy, president of the FCSU, for his responsibility and the satisfactory manner in which he has done his job. With regard to salaries, the prime minister remarked that the pay increases and the year-end bonus are linked to productivity.

Mauritius, the chief of government said, is presently facing the world recession. "We have the problem of inflation, and those of unemployment and devaluation," said Sir Seewoosagur, who added that our balance of payments shows a deficit. Mauritius is no exception; all the countries of the Third World are in the same jam. They too have to face the world recession.

"We must not lose sight of the fact that the world recession affects us," but we have to work in close collaboration in order to get the country out of the impasse, the PM stressed. "All fundamental rights are related to responsibility," he said.

Freedom of the Press

Taking up the question of freedom of the press, Sir Seewoosagur said that the press must necessarily verify its information before publishing it. "Instead of propagating rumors which are entirely untrue, you must check. This is very easy to do," the prime minister stated. He alluded to a newspaper article to the effect that the government is considering establishing a state of emergency and censoring the press. "This is not true," Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam exclaimed. The press, Sir Seewoosagur said, can always play an important role in our society while being responsible. He recalled that last year, Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo, minister of finance, was forced to amend the budget because an "economic situation was created by pressure." It was for this reason that the government saw itself obliged to devalue the rupee.

Referring to the publication of his speeches by a newspaper, Sir Seewoosagur declared that the figures are false. The PM specified that he does not collect his allowance for transportation, which amounted to 400,000 rupees per month, and this since 1970. Why doesn't the newspaper publish the salaries of the manager of a sugar establishment, a bank manager or the manager of a private firm? Nevertheless, Sir Seewoosagur revealed that he pays 100,000 rupees to the state in the form of income tax.

Sir Seewoosagur stressed that the government is always ready to conduct a dialog with the Federation on the subject of salary increases and the year-end bonus, in the interest of the country and that of the Civil Service. The government will continue to lend "support to whatever you suggest and to discuss round a table." In conclusion, Sir Seewoosagur declared: "It is very easy to destroy and not easy to build."

Asked to speak, Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo, minister of finance, praised Mr Koomara Venkatasamy in these terms: "He is showing a lot of courage, determination, wisdom, and continues to assume responsibility." Sir Veerasamy cited several countries in the world that have had to cope with the world recession just as Mauritius does. Concerning the devaluation of the Mauritian rupee, Sir Veerasamy stressed that "if you want to be serious, you have to take decisions." The minister of finance added: "We cannot be a nation of beggars, we cannot live on the charity of other people. We have to behave and to show that we are worthy of what we are receiving."

According to Sir Veerasamy, 1979 was a year of confrontation. He recalled the losses incurred by the government and the private sector when the cyclones hit Mauritius. The CEB [Central Electricity Board] had to pay out 11 million rupees for overtime. The private sector, for its part, paid out 4 million rupees to aid the municipalities and the district councils in cleaning up and rebuilding roads, drains, etc.

Sir Veerasamy stressed that these diluvial rains caused immense damage to our sugar cane, tobacco and food crops. "All these losses are losses of the community and have got to be replaced."

Sir Veerasamy added that the sugar harvest would not exceed 520,000 tons this year. In a situation like this, Sir Veerasamy said, the responsibility of the trade unionists is essential.

We stress the fact that Mr K. Venkatasamy was re-elected to the presidency of the FCSU.

11267

CSO: 4400

MMM CRITICIZES GOVERNMENT, SEEKS EARLY ELECTIONS

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 14 Mar 80 p 4

[Text] An invitation to the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] to withdraw its support for the government for the purpose of forcing early general elections, the state of the nation 12 years after independence and the adjournment of the parliamentary reopening were the main points in a press conference that the MMM held on Tuesday. "The year 1980 will not pardon those who permit the country to sink every day a little deeper into economic failure." It was with this remark that Mr Paul Berenger, MMM Secretary General, emphasized that a "crushing responsibility" rests on the shoulders of the PMSD, which has hoped for early elections. "If the PMSD wants to be taken seriously, it should stop waffling and give the nation of Mauritius the right of choosing its representatives and the program that it wants."

To justify the need for early elections, Mr Berenger referred to an analysis of the MMM Political Bureau on the state of the nation. This analysis indicates that "the Mauritians unanimously realize today that 12 years after independence nothing works anymore in the country and that nothing works in the government either."

The Political Bureau noted additionally that after the Labor Party recently invited the MMM to join the government, the PMSD itself "had the merit of showing its colors": to propose in clear terms a program of rightist political economy and foreign policy and to hope to go to early general elections on the basis of that program.

The MMM also spoke of the PMSD threat of not voting for the speech from the throne next month if that speech does not reflect certain aspects of that rightist program. The MMM recognizes then "that when the division inside the government gets deeper, the country itself sinks a little bit more in the generalized crisis."

As far as the delay of the recall of Parliament is concerned, the Political Bureau considers that such an adjournment is "really revolting" because of the "colossal labor" waiting for the Legislative Assembly. Several questions should

be debated there: the adjournment of the municipal elections, the motions of the MOC bearing on the modifications to the Industrial Relations Act [IRA], the project of creating a new airport in the north (the select committee had not finished its labors last year).

The Public Accounts Committee [PAO] is waiting for the new sessions of Parliament to be able to begin working again. The different aspects of the economic crisis are also waiting to be brought before the Legislative Assembly. In particular the question of wage compensation to be granted to the wage earners after devaluation and that of the post-devaluation adjustments to be made to the different fiscal subdivisions.

As far as the closing of "Reunion" and "Solitude" is concerned, this question is also waiting to be taken before the Legislative Assembly, the same as that of innumerable scandals and hushed-up affairs, according to the Secretary General of the MOC.

At the time that the PMSD, as Mr Berenger continued to state, had the merit of presenting a "more or less coherent" rightist program, a program that the MOC naturally rejects without appeal, the PT [Labor Party] itself, exactly like the PSM, "declared itself incapable of making serious proposals in terms of economic, political, cultural, domestic policy and foreign policy programs."

On the occasion of this 12th anniversary, we are obliged to acknowledge that the only solution for the country is in general elections where 4 political formations will face each other: the MOC, the Labor Party, the PMSD and the PSM, the secretary general of the MOC forcefully stated in conclusion.

12116

CSO: 4400

PSM CRITICIZES LP, OUTLINES POLICIES

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 14 Mar 80 pp 1, 7

[Excerpts] The Mauritian Socialist Party (PSM) celebrated in its way the 12th anniversary of national independence last Wednesday by inviting the Mauritian population to reflect on the exact extent of independence on the various levels (economic, political, diplomatic and not only juridical) in the course of a national meeting at Monsignor Margeot Beach, Rose Hill. In spite of a driving rain (the first manifestations of Laure [translation unknown]), the new political formation attracted a large crowd of several thousand attentive persons, while the locale was decorated with bunting in the colors of the party and a national flag was prominently displayed.

The PSM, according to its leader, came on Wednesday to bring to the nation a message of hope, brotherhood, peace and dignity. It invited the 54,000 persons who have asked for visas for foreign countries (among whom, it is suspected, the most intelligent people of the country are to be counted) not to exile themselves and not to let themselves slip into despond. Our country is unique and no other can replace it. It is necessary to stay and contribute to putting things in order, he indicated. We are at the crossroads and it is the people themselves who will bring about the change in this country, Mr Boodhoo declared. "A new Mauritius is being born today," the PSM leader exclaimed. We must react, shake off discouragement, refuse to become frustrated, believe in our country and in its capacity to overcome these present trials, raise our heads again and face up to our difficulties.

Independence having been won by the strength of the workers, according to the PSM, Mr Alain Coosnapen, an artisan in Highlands and Vice-President of the PSM, was designated to preside over this meeting.

Dr Beedassy then gave his speech whose theme was the meaning of independence. Mauritius, he declared, has obtained only its political independence. It is up to it now to seize economic independence, cultural independence and each one of its citizens must win his individual independence. According to the speaker there are three ways for a country to win its independence: it may seize it as Robert Mugabe has just done in Rhodesia, by means of a struggle,

it may be abandoned by the colonizing power after that power has pillaged its wealth, or finally it may accept to sell a part of its territory "as Mauritius has done" in return for independence.

The real battle for the independence of Mauritius must begin as of today, Dr Beedassy declared. "The English forced us to cultivate only one crop and to depend for our food and energy on foreign countries. As of now it will be necessary to struggle to change that situation." In the same breadth Dr Beedassy demanded that the labor politicians once and for all stop the savage strikes that are ruining the country. Each one should give his contribution to the struggle that is to begin, Dr Beedassy concluded.

Government of Contradictions

Following him at the microphone, Radha Gungoosingh did all he could to demonstrate the flagrant contradictions which according to him characterize all the activities of the present government.

Mauritius, according to Mr Gungoosingh, should follow the example of Robert Mugabe and establish close trade relations with South Africa if it is in the interests of its people.

Accent on Self Help

Mr D. Parsooramen, a teacher and active member of the PSM in the north, accentuated self-sufficiency and the dependence of the country on its own resources. According to the speaker, it is obligatory to reject dictation from the IMF. That organization, under the pretext of helping in a new takeoff of the Mauritian economy, has imposed "degrading conditions" on us. Mr Parsooramen, picking up a thesis of Mao Zedong's, is of the opinion that it is better to teach someone to fish than to give him a fish. Every Mauritian, every city and village should organize itself and mobilize itself to develop the country. Self-reliance should be based on the following principles: 1) to work hard for the prosperity of the country; 2) develop the intelligence of the people; 3) adopt a responsible and patriotic attitude under a sincere and enlightened leadership.

Cooperative: Final Stage

The most "radical" speaker of this meeting was Mr Deerpalsingh, an economist. In severe language, the speaker criticized those who ask themselves the question of knowing where they are to build their fifth camp while other people don't have a decent meal.

Defining the type of society that he wants the PSM to setup, Mr Deerpalsingh rejected sharing "which is only a first stage" and nationalization "which has shown itself to be a hindrance in some countries." The alternative, according to Mr Deerpalsingh, is cooperativism. That system, according to the speaker, has the merit of offering everyone his share and does not leave the

field open for speculation and for the black market on basic supplies as the present capitalist system does. Another specific point made by Mr Deerpalsingh: the PSM will encourage participation on all levels but would not make a goal of it; only a stage.

Some Immediate Solutions

A speech full of vigor was the one given by Jocelyn Seenyan, the PSM Secretary General. This speaker enumerated several immediate solutions for healing the economic situation of the country.

The arrival of Harish Boodhoo was greeted by the sound of exploding fire-crackers. Mr Boodhoo was warmly applauded although his philosophical address was a little bit disconnected at times.

The leader of the PSM declared that Mauritius is "ripe for a Mauritian-style change and not for a change according to imported formulas." The error of the other political parties is that they put ideology first and the country second, before the interests of the people. "They have declared war between the past and the present but they are forgetting the future." According to Mr Boodhoo it is a question of inspiring confidence in the people so that they will not sit with folded hands before the increase in dishonesty. Mauritius can still be made into the beacon country of the Indian Ocean if everyone turns his hand to it. It is not impossible, according to Harish Boodhoo and besides "that word impossible should disappear from the socialist vocabulary."

12116

CSO: 4400

PSM FIRST CONGRESS, PSMD MEETING REPORTED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 10 Mar 80 pp 1, 4

[Article: "PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] Takes on New Momentum; PSMD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] Examines the Coalition"]

[Text] Political events were dominated over the weekend by two assemblies, the first organized by the PSM, in the framework of the new momentum in its activities, and the second by the PSMD, which for the nth time raised the question of its appurtenance to the coalition government, but still didn't arrive at any final decision. The next meeting will be held on 23 March.

The Labor Party, whose weakness is due to lack of internal organization, suffered the consequences of this weakness when it was obliged to postpone a congress which was to have taken place in the Riviere des Aiguilles-Souillac district.

Therefore, successful organization for PSM, which had offered to act as an alternative to the Labor Party and the MMM; more than 700 enthusiastic delegates participated in the work of the congress. In Port-Louis, the PSMD succeeded in drawing about a hundred delegates, the majority of whom proposed that their party finally cut the gordian knot.

A "Scientific Organization" Will Give a New Dimension to the PSM

During the first large congress, which during the weekend in Rose-Hill drew 764 delegates from 150 branches of the various districts in the country, PSM announced that during the next few months its activities would be centered on a consolidation of its structures aimed at beginning to operate on "scientific bases," as a party which will propose a new course to the Mauritian nation. Efforts in this direction have already begun with the creation of numerous regional committees and a campaign popularizing the study document. But the crucial break through will occur on 12 March, at which time PSM would like to create, it would seem, a psychological shock by drawing large crowds to its meeting in the Place du Quai.

The party leaders have spared no effort to assure the success of this demonstration, which will coincide with the 12th anniversary of the country's

independence. Special instructions were issued to the delegates of the branches to do their utmost to arouse public interest in responding in massive numbers to PSM's call on 12 March.

At present, PSM represents the only hope for the Mauritian people. The leaders of the party have strenuously insisted on this point, while stressing the weaknesses of the other parties. Violent criticisms have always been directed not only at the Labor Party--and therefore the government, which is held responsible for the present economic situation and which has "indebted the country and future generations"--but also against the MMM which embodies an "irresponsible" opposition which has brought the country to its knees.

Clearly alluding to the MMM, the PSM leaders endeavored to present that party as being against order and peace. "We are against the people who over turn cars, who throw stones at the newspapers and set fires in the sugar-cane fields," declared Alain Cousnapien. The latter also accused politicians of using syndicates to "obtain personal advantages." This remark was also made here against MMM.

The same arguments were repeated by Harrish Boodhoo. He attacked the MMM, which had provoked the "Sheik Hossen psychosis" and those responsible for the death of Azor Adelaide and Ramparsad Surath. After this indictment of the principal political formations of the country, the leader of PSM reaffirmed that his party will seek change "calmly" with the support of the population.

The various speakers at the congress, which ended yesterday at Eden College, were Boodhoo, Gangoosingh, Beedassy, Seenyen, Parsooramen, Deerpalsingh, Maudarbaccus, Ramdohien and Miss Lamy. They all repeated the subjects which had been dealt with during the second political "pilgrimage" of Harrish Boodhoo and reiterated their calls in favor of "responsibility."

Gangoosingh was given the opportunity to deny the rumor that he had turned his back on PSM. He declared, to the applause of the audience, that he will never betray the struggle. "I will disappear or I will abandon politics if necessary, but I will never betray the fight," he stated.

Our Country Is Going Backward

The leaders of PSM are attaching major importance to the 12 March meeting. On that day, the Mauritian people will have "a rendezvous with their destiny." "Each Mauritian will have to assume his part of the responsibility and add his contribution to create a better Mauritius Island," declared Joselyn Seenyen, secretary general of the party.

The future is with PSM, and it is still possible to continue to live in this country, affirmed Boodhoo and Seenyen. Mauritius has an enormous reserve of men and natural resources which can be exploited. The situation in which the Mauritius Island finds itself 12 years after independence is

as follows: Our country, they said, has gone backward. Mauritian dignity has suffered greatly since we have been reduced to the state of beggars. We have created unemployed graduates and the country finds itself on crutches today. Nevertheless, the government continues to be generously bountiful. One must not forget that 11 million rupees were spent for festivities to celebrate independence.

To the approximately 54,000 families who wish to leave this country to seek elsewhere what the country cannot offer them due to the difficult situation in which we find ourselves, Boodhoo brought a message of hope: "Do not leave the country," he said, "Mauritius Island needs all its energy, its cadres to develop a new Mauritius Island."

In addition, the various speakers, who were warmly applauded, spoke on general subjects, such as the dismissal of the municipal councils, which they considered "an infringement against democracy." The government was also invited to reexamine the structures of the state security service, as it is inadmissible to allow this service to continue to create a "climate of fear" in the country and to intrude into the private lives of public figures.

A Contested Nomination Embitters PT-PMSD Relations

A congress for nothing. At least this is the impression which many PMSD sympathisers took away from the party's congress held to reexamine the advisability of belonging to the coalition. To hear the leader of the party, Gaetan Duval, it would seem that the future of the PT-PMSD coalition rests principally on Diljore's nomination to the post of controller of customs. The other points put forward by Duval which, according to PMSD, are subjects of contention with his partner in the coalition are the application of a formula for the inclusion of eastern languages at the sixth grade level and the incoherence of our foreign policy. The alert political observer, will no doubt say that there is nothing to make a fuss about. Thus, Clement Mootoo will certainly not fail to underline that all these questions should be discussed first on a legislative level and not during a congress.

The congressmen, more than a hundred, were not of the same opinion; the majority of them, particularly those who had participated in the 1967 campaign, who are living in the beautiful nostalgic period of the PMSD, are sincerely convinced that the latter can win a majority of seats in the Parliament by itself and hold that PMSD must end its collaboration with the PT. Moreover, when intervening during the course of the congress would they not mention Mme Gandhi's and Trudeau's brilliant victories? They have no doubt in their minds that the PMSD can accomplish the same...

PT Needs PMSD

On the other hand, the other current, especially represented by those who hold responsible positions in the party, while not expressing their

opinions aloud, did not fail to make their colleagues understand that "PT needs PMSD and PMSD needs PT." And if PMSD wishes to gain seats in the cities, even in Curepipe, it would have to count on the Labor Party.

The most awaited intervention in the congress yesterday was that of Duval, the leader of the party. After having made some pointed remarks against the various PT leaders, particularly against the president and the secretary general of the party who are more MMM than the MMM and do not miss an opportunity to criticize the PMSD, he expressed himself as follows: "How do you expect me, Gaetan Duval, to get up on the same platform with David and Jagatsingh and tell you to vote for them? It is not possible."

Intrigues

Duval also mentioned what he calls the "intrigues" adopted by the PT at the time of the select committees. He gave as an example the matter relating to the nationalization of the port--where the PT had made sure of MMM's aid in order to put its ideas through. The leader of the PMSD then found fault with those who, according to him, had something to say concerning Diljore's nomination to the post of controller of customs. "It is an injustice and PMSD cannot remain silent on this subject. We have decided never to yield to this nomination." From the tone adopted by Duval one can understand that from now on the future of the coalition can be affected by this question.

With the applause of his audience ringing in his ears, the speaker outdid himself by parodying the late Sir Abdool Razak Mohamed.

According to Duval, if at the reopening of parliament the PMSD does not obtain satisfaction, he will make other necessary arrangements. However, he felt that he should point out that personally he has nothing against Diljore. It is the PT which is responsible for everything.

On the other hand, Duval underlined the fact that Diljore's transfer to the customs service had been carefully planned. In transferring Diljore to customs his post becomes vacant and he will have to be replaced.

However, no decision has been made by congress. The whole question will be thoroughly debated when the new congress convenes on Sunday, 23 March, in Curepipe.

After having mentioned the government's incoherent foreign policy and denounced Radha Ramphul's proposal to the United Nations, the PMSD leader stated that the government should align its foreign policy with that of the west. Mauritius Island's Government is not strong enough to be independent. "Our independence is evident. It is therefore essential that the country should unite with a foreign power and reinforce its ties with a European bloc in order to save its economy from its present stagnation and for the survival of the democracy."

Another subject which is dear to Duval's heart concerns the disciplinary actions which the government is planning to take against the employees of the public sector who had participated in the last strike in connection with the 13th month. The PMSD leader cannot understand why the government is planning to take disciplinary measures against them while the Vacoas Transport workers who had participated last August in so-called "political" strikes were offered jobs in the National Transport Corporation.

In Duval's opinion, PT seems to have lost its head. This party does everything possible to have all the people on its back.

Finally, Duval invited all the agents and party sympathizers to come to another congress next Sunday in Rose-Hill, at which time PMSD's new structures to be adopted will be examined.

7993

CSO: 4400

MACHEL 18 MARCH SPEECH, REACTION UNRECORDED

Lisbon 0 JORNAL in Portuguese 28 M : 80 pp 22-24

[Article by Caceres Monteiro, special correspondent]

[Excerpts] "On 25 September 1964 we declared war on the foreign enemy, Portuguese colonialism. Here, today, 18 March 1980, we are declaring war against the internal enemy. We are going to purge these enemies by the end of this year. It will be clean everywhere. We are going to make a clean sweep, you hear?"

"Yes!"

From the rostrum, accompanied by his entire government, Samora Machel, in his green fatigues, a military uniform without any insignia or braid whatever, spoke with "his people."

"Today we are going to have an unpleasant conversation," he warned at the start, speaking to some 50,000 people who had been converging since dawn on the Praca da Independencia, the site Machel had chosen for the scenario of "18 March," perhaps the most important date in the history of Mozambique since independence.

This was not to be a simple speech. The rally had been preceded by a series of actions in the weeks before, directed by the president himself, and on the following day changes were announced at the level of the government, normally a stable organization.

Why is Mozambique experiencing this storm? Is it a power struggle in the high-level structures of the FRELIMO, a conflict of factions, as happens in so many African states? This "18 March" means more than a simple announcement of a changing of the guard.

In fact, in his 4 and 1/2 hour speech, Samora Machel announced the denationalization of some economic sectors, the dismantling of such structures as the state company responsible for administering state property and the

"People's Stores," the creation of a food-rationing system, increased power for the directors of companies, and so on.

What led to the speech of 18 March? Why was this rally so important? It was not just any occasion. This "18 March" was scheduled for 15 March and then 17 March. It was postponed twice. It was known that Machel was putting great effort into writing his speech. Although the first order of the day right now is "Produce," the rally was scheduled on a week day, contrary to custom, causing all nonessential sectors of activity in the region of Maputo to come to a halt. On the previous day, Radio Mozambique broadcast the gathering places for the inhabitants. Early in the morning, thousands of people assembled in their neighborhoods and marched, most of them barefoot, to the center. The rally was scheduled for 0800 hours. Machel would come 1/2 hour later, "to allow for the latecomers." There was a threat of rain, and the night before, a violent thunderstorm had devastated the region, illuminating the night with a thousand bolts of lightning.

By 0800 hours most of the ministers were on the government platform, where Machel would take his place.

On either side of the platform were special places for the diplomatic corps ("I want them to take part in this historic moment for Mozambique," said Machel), and for national directors and other important figures in the hierarchy of the republic. (It is significant that, symbolizing FRELIMO's victory in the struggle against racism, the "color" of this group was not predominantly black.)

The people responded to Machel's introduction with warmth but without adulation. "These are difficult times," a FRELIMO leader explained.

Recent events in Zimbabwe are important for an understanding of what is now occurring in Mozambique. "Victory in Zimbabwe allows us to use our weapons mainly inside the country.")

For Mozambique, the results of the elections in that neighboring country represented a victory with incalculable domestic and foreign repercussions.

With the victory, Samora Machel, who has been devoting 75 percent of his time to the Zimbabwean problem, is now in a position to launch the "internal offensive."

Machel's discourse is, above all, cultural and didactic. In a country without television and with limited access to other news media, he finds it necessary to explain directly to the people the reasons for the difficulties they are experiencing, difficulties which are currently reaching a climax.

The people of Maputo are in an expectant mood. They want to hear Machel, but they will not be easily aroused. Traffic has been banned in the city center. Machel's voice echoes from the buildings on the other side of the square.

Jokes, asides, a critique of costumes, a full range of histrionics are typical of Machel's discourse. From time to time he uses a bit of dialect, which thrills the crowd, and songs ("I won't leave here; no one can make me go away...") or even dialog with the nearest members of the audience.

To understand what is happening in Mozambique and what differentiates it from other African countries, it should be known that, at the highest echelons, there is a group of leaders who act with complete honesty, faithful to their political principles, invulnerable to corruption--that overwhelming African epidemic. Added to this, in most cases, is a level of technical and political competence rare in Africa, limited only in that it must be spread over so many tasks, owing to the lack of cadres, the number one roadblock to development in Mozambique.

These attributes are not found in most of the intermediate cadres, however; hence this "offensive," which is a prerequisite to kick off the development planned for Mozambique in the decade of the 1980's.

Arsene Lupin

As I have said, this speech by Machel did not begin the campaign. Weeks earlier, within this "political organisational offensive," the local press, NOTICIAS, NOTICIAS DE BEIRA and TEMPO, were simultaneously reporting the lack of bread or medicines and covering in detail the "terrifying" surprise visits of Samora Machel to ports and airports, companies and hospitals, schools and warehouses.

A technician expressed skepticism that these actions would have appreciable effect.

"There is a certain quixotism to all this. It would have required at least 30 Samoras to cover the country. Even though it is true that the ministers also bustled around, there is only one Samora Machel, and he is a human being; he is not Arsene Lupin.

More than coming up with "scapegoats," which are always useful in such reform drives, the "organizational offensive" is seen as a broad psychological operation to create a true revolution of the mind among the people, in addition to constituting an antidote for corruption.

"The campaign is aimed at cleaning up the economy before the development takes off," I was told.

In fact, the Central Committee met in December and declared: "On the threshold of the decade of victory over underdevelopment, it is vital to rid all sectors completely of indiscipline, liberalism, populism, disorganization, incompetence, carelessness, bureaucratism, passivity and indolence."

In addition, the FRELIMO noted that the machinery of the post-colonial period gave rise to the appearance of a native petty bourgeoisie, which the

party sees as the "enemy within" and seeks to dismantle it, to prevent a polarization of the dissatisfaction that the existing difficulties are bound to provoke. In sum, the FRELIMO has preferred to take on the challenge, to conduct its own self-criticism of the many mistakes that have been made and to commit itself to resolving the existing problems. "Although small in number and economically weak, the domestic bourgeoisie carries a certain weight in our society. By its customs, its life-style, it exercises a notorious influence in the urban centers," the committee members declared in the above-mentioned directive.

These speeches of Samora Machel disturb even those who are used to them. Even his closest collaborators wonder if a president of the republic should concern himself with the torn carpet at the door of a hospital, and if his speeches should refer to needles and razor blades, and if he should frolic and sing. There are those who fear, to use an expression to the liking of Portuguese journalists, that the president is "wearing thin."

Machel does not appear to be at all concerned about his style, however. He is not concerned about appearing in the world's screens shaking hands with Lord Soames (who visited him this week), or about putting his feet up on his chair at a press conference, or about putting on a real performance during a rally.

He does not care to delve into complex political concepts or to theorize. Still, in his replies to newsmen, even when he is talking about the standards for cotton wrappers or tooth brushes, one perceives in the thread of his speech that underlying all this is a deep understanding of social phenomena, a surprisingly solid education for a man who came from serving as a nurse in hospital clinics in guerrilla territory. Any comparison with the antics of certain other African leaders is unjust. One easily comes to this conclusion upon reading his speeches carefully, or examining his replies in press conferences, even without any note cards in front of him.

Against "Rightist Deviation"

"We have allowed a minority to infiltrate our structures. There is a broad operation directed from abroad. The enemy action has been concentrated heavily on the agencies of the state apparatus, and its main targets are public supply, housing, transportation, health and productive sectors," Machel declared at the Maputo rally. He also criticized the "leftist deviation" that led the Mozambican government to manage small "machambas" (farms), small businesses, boutiques, barbershops, grills, bakeries, shoe stores and garages.

Machel declared that the enemy is openly challenging the government, distorting directives. "It is trying to place itself at the head of the offensive in order to divert it. In some provinces, the enemy is openly challenging our power, directly intimidating the people, seizing those who have the courage to speak out." (Here Machel was probably referring to a case that happened in Beira following a meeting of workers with a minister.)

These words of the president of FRELIMO are so serious that it is not hard to foresee they will soon be followed by a big shake-up in the state apparatus. His words also reflect the difficulties confronting the party in some regions, namely in Sofala. Some FRELIMO officials have begun to fear that the president's "hard" speech of 18 March might cause some unfavorable reaction in certain parts of the country.

It was after a lengthy description of the situation we have summarized above that Machel announced vigorous measures to be taken in the coming weeks and months, with firm discipline.

"The offensive launched now is the beginning of a new war," Machel concluded. "When the Limpopo floods, the river rises suddenly and brings up impurities with it; the water is clouded with the mud that comes down from the mountains. But when the flood is over, the mud is deposited on the banks, the river is clean and the water runs crystal-clear again," Machel said, remembering the river that flows near his birthplace of Chilembene.

Machel opened the floodgates that morning. This is the biggest flood of all. Who will be swept away in the flood waters? When will the river return to its bed?

Machel himself is fearful about the process he has unleashed, but he has no other choice. Above all, he is worried that his harsh speeches will cause a rift between him and "his people," because when he speaks to the people he sometimes interrupts himself and points an accusing finger: "You! It is you I am talking about, you out there!"

This was why, that morning, after 4 and 1/2 hours of conversation that, as he himself said, was "not very pleasant," he felt it necessary to tell the people he had confidence in them, that they were good and intelligent people.

Coming down from the platform, he even went up to the first few rows of the crowd, beckoning them to come closer.

From the mass of dark-skinned people, thousands and thousands of white palms were extended in adieus to Machel.

In an instant, to the dismay of the security forces, Machel was swallowed in a sea of people who held him captive for some minutes, until his security managed to "rescue" him and take him to a car surrounded by other cars with flashing lights, and a "Unimog" standing by.

So ended "18 March." But it was then that everything would begin.

After the elections in Zimbabwe, Mozambique became a center of attention in the world press, and it was sensed that various diplomatic feelers (but not Portuguese) were being sent in its direction. Machel's speech caused surprise and mixed reaction, especially in a very attentive South Africa.

The interpretations offered by some countries ("Machel is turning toward capitalism"), and the repercussions that such interpretations could have on other countries, led Mozambique's information officials to feel it necessary to invite some special envoys and foreign correspondents, who came running, to an interview with the president, which was to be restricted in scope.

The confidence of Mozambique's leaders in the future can only be comparable in magnitude to the "present difficulties" to which they constantly refer and their awareness of their mistakes.

Great, too, is the contempt for the "examples," an indication that many accounts remain to be settled. Machel is maintaining the "suspense."

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CSO: 4401

GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON AFGHANISTAN CLARIFIED

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 28 Mar 80 p 23

[Interview with President Samora Machel by O JORNAL, in Maputo, date not given]

[Text] Question: President Machel, can your speech of 18 March be considered as initiating a process of a type conventionally called a "cultural revolution?"

Answer: First of all, I would tell you that this is not a cultural revolution. One does not launch a campaign to make a cultural revolution. Cultural revolution is an integrated, general and overall process. This campaign is not a revolution. We made that clear. The state apparatus has been infiltrated. Once it was infiltrated, all the FRELIMO directives were distorted. Our state apparatus is serving the interests of our enemies; it is not serving the popular interest. Our state apparatus has been corrupted. It is becoming a refuge for incompetents. Our state apparatus is sick; it needs care. What we were doing with our rally was to go after oxygen. First we have to purify ourselves. In a sick and corrupt state apparatus, indiscipline will settle in cozily. Hence, this campaign marks the need to cut out the sick organs and to insure the health of those that are worthy to be part of the state apparatus, which must be disciplined at this vital time for our economy. We were not, therefore, setting out to make a cultural revolution as it is generally understood.

Support for Afghanistan, not USSR

Question: How do you reconcile Mozambique's policy of nonalignment with its continuing support for positions defended by the USSR? I am thinking, for example, of the UN vote regarding the invasion of Afghanistan.

Answer: In our understanding, it was not aggression.

When the People's Republic of Angola was invaded by South Africa, it sought aid from the USSR and Cuba, and we supported it. Here again, in this case, we were not supporting the Soviet Union with our vote, but Afghanistan. Afghanistan, an independent state, asked the USSR for assistance.

If the Soviet Union had attacked Afghanistan, the question would be reasonable, but this was not the case. We do not support aggression of any kind.

Tell me, though, why do they only talk about the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, and not about the French troops that went to overthrow Bokassa, in the Central African Republic? Why don't they talk about the French troops and mercenaries that went in to overthrow and assassinate the president of the Comoro Islands?

We support Afghanistan in its request for assistance from the Soviet Union, only this. Is that clear?

Question: Relations between the Mozambican and Portuguese governments are largely blocked. How do you think this situation might be altered?

Answer: We have channels, state to state, which are dealing with this problem. I see no interest in discussing this matter right now.

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CSO: 4401

MOZAMBIQUE

VISITS TO REEDUCATION CENTERS, COMMUNAL VILLAGES RECOUNTED

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 23-29 Apr 80 pp 20-21

[Article by Caceres Monteiro: "Mozambique--Neither Western Democracy Nor a Concentration Camp System"]

[Excerpts] With this report on a visit to the province of Gaza, we end the series of articles we have been publishing on Mozambique. The special correspondent of O JORNAL visited one of the famous reeducation camps in that province of Mozambique, learned about the experience of the communal settlements, witnessed some of the damage done by the war with Rhodesia and acquainted himself with the farm and industrial experience in the Limpopo Valley.

"Half of the reeducation is done on the way there, and the other half on the return," joked Jorge Pontual of JORNAL DO BRASIL, suffering, as I was, from the hardships of the 70 kilometers of rough-hewn trail which took us to the Chicomo Reeducation Camp in the province of Gaza.

"But don't you want to see a reeducation camp?" Mota Lopes, the national director of information for Mozambique and a journalist, one of the best-trained cadres of the FRELIMO I was to meet during my stay during Mozambique, asked.

"I would like to, but I thought it would be indelicate to ask," I answered.

It was not indelicate at all.

The majority of the reeducation camps shelter common criminals, although it is known that there is at least one where Joana Simeao and Lazaro Kanvandame, among others, are serving sentences for collaboration with the colonials.

"The prisoners stay here 2, 3 or 4 months, or a year at maximum," the commander told us.

"How is the 'reeducation' effected?"

In the morning the prisoners, all dressed in straw-colored uniforms, work in the fields on the farm, or at carpentry, tailoring or craftwork. Beginning in the afternoon, there are classes. In the political classes they read the constitution and the periodical TEMPO, analyzing domestic and international news. There are Portuguese classes (they all speak Portuguese). The first literacy campaign at the center has already been completed.

Apart from this, there are leisure-time and social activities. According to the commander, there are no serious violations of discipline (and when there are, the punishment is double work). Nor, since the initial period when the camp was established (1977), have there been many escapes to note, despite the fact that after a certain time, the prisoners are given passes to visit the nearby settlements, partly as a way of testing their rehabilitation.

The prisoners are organized in military fashion in a battalion divided into platoons, each of which is headed by one of the prisoners, although there is always one of the policemen who form the camp garrison in attendance.

We moved through the camp. As the commander passed, everyone rose and stood rigidly at attention. How long one stays at the center depends on the commander's reports.

Despite the heat and the bleakness of the facilities it was with some regret that we resumed our seats in the jeep. There would be several more hours of bouncing. We returned to the trail.

Communal Settlements

Some kilometers along we reached the communal settlement of Dingane, near Manjacaze. It is one of the less successful communal settlement experiments. Dingane has about 250 residents who were previously scattered throughout the region. They have a school, but no benches, and the blackboard is affixed to tree trunks. Rosita, 8 years old, with her little sister on her shoulders, had no class, at least that day. All of the children were wandering among the straw huts.

The administrative structure of the communal settlement is limited to "an official."

However, there are better-developed experiments in communal settlements in Gaza, and in the capital of the province (Xai-Xai, formerly Joao Belo), a communal settlements meeting was to be held during the days we were there, but it was postponed at the last minute. Gaza now has settlements with 15,000 to 18,000 persons. Normally a communal settlement is made up of 4 sectors, each having 250 families.

According to the estimates given me at a meeting with officials of the National Communal Settlements Commission (an independent body working in coordination with the Ministry of Agriculture), 9.7 percent of the citizens of Mozambique now live in communal settlements, above all in the district of Cabo Delgado and in the valleys of the Zambeze and Limpopo Rivers. "The communal settlements are the embryos of the future rural cities," they told me. "It is on the basis of their organization that the collective production, either collective or state, is organized." The settlements are built by the peasants themselves, with state support in terms of specific investments, such as water supply, electrification, the drilling of wells, the building of schools, and supply of seeds and farm implements ("free thus far, despite the difficulties"), credit allocations, etc.

Many of these settlements have schools and health stations, staffed respectively by teachers and multi-discipline health workers, as well as consumer cooperatives or people's stores.

If the people's organization is complete and well developed, the administrative structure involves a party cell (the members of which are as a general rule nominated by the people and confirmed by the FRELIMO), people's court, a security unit, an economic and financial sector and women's and youth organizations. However, in the majority of cases, not all parts of this structure are to be found and very often there is merely a settlement secretary.

As the officials of the commission to whom I spoke told us, "some settlements do not conform to the principles defined and in practical implementation, there have been some deviations." The assessment of the shortcomings and the achievements thus remains to be done, as it will shortly when the communal settlements meeting mentioned is held in Xai-Xai.

"Often the peasants' initiative exceeds the capacity of the state to respond," they said.

The communal settlements in Mozambique have their roots in the days of the colonial war. "This was an experiment undertaken for defense against the attacks of the colonial troops. In other cases, these settlements served to support the families of the combatants who had no means of subsistence."

But many were the result of conversion of the strategic settlements or were established because of natural catastrophes, specifically floods, for example along the Zambeze and Limpopo.

The organization of the settlements, they told us, has been voluntary.

The Church

"And what about churches? Are there any in the communal settlements?" I asked, curious.

Their answers were prompt and somewhat harsh.

"Religion is the best-developed form of obscurantism."

"There were in fact some efforts to establish churches or chapels secretly near the communal settlements, but we speedily eliminated these religious centers."

This suggests a subject which would occupy us at length.

Mozambique is a country which is nowhere near the parameters established in Western Europe as the definition of a democratic regime. But it is not at all a concentration camp regime either, perhaps because its single-party structure is mitigated by the exercise of popular authority which gives the base level a considerable measure of power and capacity for expression. Competence today is a virtue more important than orthodoxy, which is allowing the seeds of tolerance to develop in common life. But despite this, and although there are certain signs of modification, there is a very harsh attitude on the part of the officials of the state apparatus toward the Catholic Church. These attacks on the Church are based not so much on mere reasons of an ideological nature, but on the attitude of support for colonialism assumed by the majority of the bishops and priests up to 1974. ("This same Church which had as its highest leader in Mozambique a notorious agent of the PIDE [International and State Defense Police]/DGS [Security Directorate General]," the Mozambique news agency reported recently.) The authorities in Mozambique accuse the Church of trying to subvert the authority of the state, and the priests of taking no pride in independence, having no patriotic feelings and allying themselves "with the reactionary forces attacking the country." In the cases where priests have been imprisoned, the authorities in Mozambique have made various charges, ranging from the corruption of minors through homosexual practices to economic sabotage.

But in the very documents setting forth these charges, it is also made very clear that "religion is against science." This is true, they say, when the Church teaches that the world was created in 7 days or that woman was made from the rib of man. Thus the Mozambican state, although it says it does not persecute believers, says that it has the right to give priority to its concept of the world.

Unless changes in direction come about in this sector too, the future does not look easy for the Catholic Church in Mozambique.

5 September Battle

I have had occasions to state in earlier reports that the effects of the Rhodesian attacks on Mozambique were greater than is presumed abroad.

I had an opportunity to verify this fact in the district of Gaza. Bridges, railroad lines and roads have been disrupted.

Of all the attacks, a celebrated one, that on 5 September 1975, was directed at a number of positions, but it caused the greatest damage at the Macarretane dam.

Limpopo Agroindustrial Complex

Whose brilliant idea was it to give this area in this part of Africa the name Trigo de Morais? Certainly it was those same people who dreamed of implanting some kind of settlement resembling Minho on these sultry banks of the Limpopo. Salazar's idea--this was in 1954--was to bring 3,000 families of Portuguese "settlers," to whom 4 hectares of land, 2 teams of oxen, a house and bank loans were given. It was only possible to recruit about 1,500. So then "Mozambican settlers" were invited to come, without any gift of oxen but still with the loans to get tracts started.

All of this was recounted in Chockwe by the directors of the Limpopo Agroindustrial Complex, the successor to the famous "Limpopo Settlement."

"Independence came and the majority of the Portuguese settlers, frightened by collectivization, left then. Some stayed and even today there are private settlers in the complex. So long as they work the land, it is theirs."

There is also a private rice-hulling plant, apart from another belonging to the complex. It is the Capelas plant, with Portuguese owners, which has more modern production lines than the state plant. It absorbs a part of the production--45,000 tons of rice per year. The state production unit works 16 hours a day, and produces 2 tons every hour. But there are also other factory units, such as the tomato paste and concentrate plant, which utilizes part of the 10,000 hectares adjacent to the 5,000 hectares along the Limpopo. "Last year," the Bulgarian cooperative worker told us in almost perfect Portuguese, "part of the tomato crop rotted on the ground for lack of transportation."

It was this Bulgarian engineer who explained the operations of the complex. He told us that there are deficits everywhere--in rice cultivation, tomatoes, the tomato plant and rice hulling. "But there are recovery systems," he stressed.

A dairy products plant and another for sausages have been closed down for lack of raw materials. A fodder plant has also been closed down because of technical shortcomings. The complex has just had one plant added--for the ginning of cotton. Cotton production has declined substantially in Mozambique since independence was won. The cotton harvest meant slavery

and refusal to harvest it became a symbol of liberation for the Mozambican workers. The phantoms must be laid to rest and the cultivation of this crop revived.

We crossed the complex via the muddy roads through the rice fields. We passed one of the people's stores scattered throughout the region. Products are in extremely short supply. The shelves held powdered milk, tomato paste, soap and expensive items of clothing. The average wage of the workers at the agroindustrial complex barely exceeds 50 escudos per day. A shirt costs 248.50 escudos. An orangeade (unavailable) costs 21.50 escudos, half of the average wage for the rice-hulling plant workers.

Artur da Costa Moita, a Portuguese citizen, directs the factory. He has been in Mozambique for 37 years, 15 of them on the Limpopo ("I was born in Portugal but I am a Mozambican heart and soul." For this reason he remained. He has children in Mozambique and children in Portugal. He is a competent technician and Mozambique knows it needs him. Nowadays technicians like Mr Moita are cherished. If they leave, the only alternative is to have recourse to the costly cooperative workers.

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CSO: 4401

NEW TAX STRUCTURE REPORTEDLY WILL BRING RELIEF

Details of Plan

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 30 Apr 80 p 1

[Text]

THE dramatic tax concessions announced yesterday by Mr A H du Plessis, Chairman of the Executive Committee in the Legislative Assembly, seem to be directed mainly at making Namibia a financially attractive venture for South African civil servants.

Mr Du Plessis said that he hopes "...the accompanying tax concessions... will encourage all persons in the Government sector to remain in the public service," and added that he hoped it would result in more trained persons entering the service.

Mr Du Plessis said that salary improvements similar to those announced for State employees in the Republic, **would be granted to officials,**

employees and teachers in the service of the Administration with effect from April 1 1980.

Mr Du Plessis said that the Administration is presently hard at work making the necessary arrangements for the adjustment of salaries and the payment of service bonuses.

The complexity of certain aspects of the arrangements and the large number of officials involved would mean that the implementation might have to be spread over several months. Mr Du Plessis said, but he hoped that by the end of May most of the people concerned would have received their increased salaries, with retrospective effect from April 1, 1980.

The adjusted monthly tax deductions would most probably not take effect before July, but the scales will come in force retroactively as from March 1.

The following table indicates how these proposed changes would affect a married man with two children.

The highest percentage reduction, as can be seen from the table, is granted to the lower income groups.

It has been furthermore proposed that existing taxation rebates be increased.

In accordance with present provisions the basic rebate for unmarried persons is R100 and for Married persons R150, whereas a rebate of R60 is granted for each child. These rebates will be increased

Taxable Income	Past Taxes	Present Taxes	Proposed Tax	Percentage Reduction
6 000	200	190	50	75
8 000	530	450	270	49
10 000	980	790	570	42
15 000	2 360	1 990	1 670	29
20 000	3 980	3 670	3 170	20
25 000	5 860	5 740	4 920	16
30 000	7 980	8 170	6 920	13
40 000	12 980	13 650	11 640	10

to R150, R200 and R100 respectively.

It was proposed that the tariffs for married and unmarried persons be altered to bring them more or less in line with the new tariffs in the Republic. This will bring about a general tax reduction and will also result in the maximum marginal scale being reduced from 55% to 50%. This maximum of 50% will also become effective as from a far higher taxable income, namely from R37 000 as against the present R28 000 in the case of married taxpayers, and from R29 000 instead of the present R20 000 for unmarried persons.

In the case of unmarried people the position is somewhat different.

In February 1980 taxes were increased throughout since this group had for many years been in a considerably more favourable position than their counterparts in the Republic. The proposed scales, compared with the tariffs which were in force before February, are also lower up to a taxable income of R25 000.

Above R25 000 they are somewhat higher, but only in the vicinity of one to three per cent.

In addition it was announced that a married woman, as from March 1, 1980, will be taxed separately from her husband on proving that she is a bona fide working woman. These tax concessions mean a considerable loss of revenue to the Administration, amounting to approximately R3 million per year.

When the proposed tax concessions were announced during the February session of 1980 it was estimated that the decrease in tariffs would result in a loss of revenue for the Administration of approximately R6 million per year. However, the amendment came into force with effect from March 1, 1979 to coincide with similar amendments in the Republic and the result is that a further amount of approximately R6 million will have to be refunded to taxpayers during 1980/81 in respect of excess collections during

1979/80. This brings the expected decrease in income tax on individuals during 1980/81 to R 15 million in total. Since the original estimate for the financial year amounted to R39 million before taking these decreases into account, said amount will eventually be R24 million, which appears in the printed Estimate of Revenue.

Mr Du Plessis pointed out that the R208 million Budget included an amount of R43.7 million that will be spent as a direct charge to the Territorial Development and Reserve Fund during 1980/81 on three projects which cannot be regarded as true Administration services. These are the construction of a further 80 kilometres of the Rundu-Berg Aukas Road at a cost of about R17.5 million; the erection of a technical college and a school for Coloureds for R6.2 million and the loan of R20 million to Swakwam for the construction of a powerline from the southern border of the Territory with South Africa to Windhoek where it will link up with the existing network.

Praise for du Plessis

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 1 May 80 p 1

[Editorial in the column "Comment"]

[Text]

WE LAUD the Chairman of Exco Mr A H du Plessis for yet another honest attempt to promote economic growth in the country and to attract the best possible professional and skilled manpower.

Few countries can boast a Budget with considerable tax concessions while being faced with substantially higher expenditure in many spheres and reduced revenue.

Some of our countrymen however will argue that the position in SA is substantially better than that in SWA.

Mr Du Plessis however rightly pointed out that while this may seem true, a direct comparison is not a fair one. He gave these reasons:

- SWA has not benefitted from gold earnings as SA has. On the contrary, the situation in SWA is worse with diamond earnings having dropped during the past year;

- SA is entering a growth period which is in great measure due to considerable increases in the

proceeds from taxation on goldmines and other State revenue.

- The considerable amount of money that is collected annually in SA in terms of general sales tax makes that country financially stronger to be able to afford losses as a result of tax reduction;

- And the fiscal situation in SWA is still too fragmented compared to SA, making it difficult to formulate a uniform taxation structure which has a competitive edge on SA.

All said and done though, Mr Du Plessis did everything he could to keep the taxation structure in SWA in line with SA, which should meet with approval and encourage economically-active people to throw their weight fully into the future of the country.

Mr Du Plessis' Budget is but one sign of enlightened and progressive government, and that SWA needs desperately. Indeed, enlightened government constitutes the very basis of stability, justice and prosperity.

MUDGE: NATIONALIST PARTY HAS FAILED TO UNITE PEOPLE

Asks No Confidence Vote

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 1 May 80 p 1

[Article by Anne Marie du Preez]

[Text]

WHITES IN this country must stop arguing about petty matters, as they stand a chance to lose everything Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly said yesterday.

Mr Mudge at great length pointed out that the Nationalist Party, after thirty years of ruling the Legislative Assembly, were nothing but a stumbling-block in achieving a viable agreement in the interest of the people.

In his motion of no-confidence in the ruling Nationalist Party in the House, Mr Mudge said that it appears as though the DTA is enemy number one where the Opposition is concerned and that they are trying to destroy the DTA instead of fighting against Swapo.

It is time that the leaders of the Whites approached them at grassroot level and bring home the dangers of marxism and communism and what it would entail being ruled by a marxist-orientated regime.

The Whites also have the responsibility of upholding and passing on to the population groups the principles of a Christian civilisation. It would be in everybody's interest to safeguard the existing establishment.

The NP has failed diamally in leading the Whites in the country. Instead they incite White emotions by pointing out that the country has reached a critical stage.

Mr Mudge appealed to the NP to accept the proposals by the AG on the division of functions as a basis of cooperation against Swapo.

He said if democratic elections go wrong it would be just as dangerous as if they didn't take place at all. In both cases a bitter confrontation would be the result.

Mr Mudge pointed out that, in the situation in SWA, it is a battle for the hearts of the people, and not merely a military battle. He accused the NP of positively being a stumbling-block in winning the hearts of the people.

He warned the Whites against reacting as though the

Black man were their enemy and asked what the consequences would be if the Black man followed suit and saw as his first priority Black solidarity.

On the proposed tax concessions, announced by Mr A H du Plessis in his Budget speech on Tuesday, Mr Mudge said that the mere fact that taxes in SWA were the same as they are in the Republic would not make it worthwhile for a civil servant to give up a position in the Republic. The cost of living in SWA is much higher, the security position is a factor and many people have to do their work under extremely difficult conditions. People should be remunerated accor-

dingly. He said R6 million out of a total budget of R100 million is a small enough price to pay for qualified people.

It is unfair to claim that the civil servants will leave the country if things are not going their way. It is also unfair to accept that they are only interested in financial benefits. Some of the civil servants in this country are idealists and one should rather appeal to their idealism.

Mr Mudge concluded by saying that he couldn't entrust the NP with the future of the Whites in this country. They have failed in bringing the people together and that is the most important matter.

Reply From du Plessis

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 1 May 80 p 3

[Excerpt]

Replying to the motion, the leader of the NP and Aktur, Mr A H du Plessis, rejected the allegations levelled against his party as "untrue and false."

He said there was unrest in the Territory but that the NP and Aktur were not responsible for this.

"We have never withheld anything from the Blacks," he charged, "and this Government has never stood in the way of the Black man."

Mr Du Plessis affirmed that his party was both, anti-marxist and anti-Swapo and that it supported all other moderate parties in this.

The debate continues today.

- Sapa

CSO: 4420

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES EFFORTS TO PROMOTE WOMEN'S STATUS

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 15-16 Mar 80 p 4

[Interview with the secretary of state for women's affairs, Mrs Maimouna Kane, by Ibrahima Gaye]

[Text] The National Fortnight of the Woman begins today. Mrs Maimouna Kane, secretary of state for women's affairs, who is in charge of the event, consented to answer our questions at this time.

A subdued enthusiasm transformed into energy, by which productive convictions are recognized, is obvious in her answers. Her message is both stirring and concise. It can be summarized as follows: Let women organize themselves and set to work.

[Question] What can a Fortnight of the Woman bring to women, and more generally to Senegal?

[Answer] First of all, in rendering to Caesar what belongs to him, it must be said that it is due to the generous solicitude of the chief of state that since 1972 our country has dedicated the 25th of March to the Senegalese woman.

Then this year, in agreeing to establish by decree the National Fortnight of the Woman, the chief of state and the prime minister have confirmed the government's political desire to strive for the development of the Senegalese woman... The objectives set forth for the fortnight are certainly ambitious, but I am convinced that they measure up to our people's genius, thanks to the participation of women in all levels of our development, which is an unquestionable sign of our success. It is important that our sisters become aware that the "true development of self must be realized by oneself or with the participation of oneself."

The organization of a Fortnight of the Woman can strengthen the consciousness-raising of women and establish the need for their contribution to the

unified development effort; this in turn creates an encouraging impulse for the entire community and leads to a change in mentalities.

Moreover, it helps to create an awareness among the public about all types of problems concerning women. It is about time that we do justice to women by having them participate more fully in all national activities and by giving them the same responsibilities as men in each case that the qualifications are met.

In summary, the objectives of the fortnight are to make public opinion sensitive to the necessity of insuring women's integration into national development, to make public opinion aware of a number of contradictions which women experience, to give women the opportunity to assert their true personalities, to express their "own self" and to accept their difference as an element which compliments human development.

[Question] International Year of the Woman, World Day of the Woman, National Fortnight of the Woman. Suddenly women have become a major present-day issue and a favorite theme of political and social discourse in our era. The discourse, of course, is a preliminary. How can one move beyond this?

[Answer] I think that the U.N.'s decision to dedicate a year and then a decade, and Senegal's decision to dedicate a day and then a fortnight to the woman, and to give women every necessary importance by creating a secretary of state for women's affairs, and then by merging the secretary of state for women's affairs and the secretary of state for human development in order to attain greater efficiency, bear witness to a desire for action which goes beyond a simple discourse. The holding of a fortnight of the woman precisely permits going beyond, as you put it so well! As a matter of fact, it is necessary that, beyond the campaign to create an awareness, new actions must be undertaken and that women be the originators of these actions. The burst of national encouragement, which we hope to create in their favor, should induce them to pursue this effort as a result of the desire for change.

To give you a specific example: "A mill received by a group, organized during the fortnight, which is well-managed and produces a profit by the members of this group can give birth to another small village project thanks to the receipts and savings created through its management; for example, such a project could be a collective hen house or a truck garden."

In addition, this organization of women can be propagated and it could spread to other women who are conscious of the necessity for self-organization, with a view toward self-management..., etc. Several examples can be given in many other areas. Moreover, this fortnight, which appeals directly to all women and not only to a few specialized or favored organizations, will be the occasion for all Senegalese to express themselves and in particular to reflect on their own condition while being assured that their problems and efforts will be taken into consideration by a ministry for whom "the subject of women" goes beyond fine words.

[Question] Women have a role to play in the development of our country--this is admitted by everyone. Specifically, what must women do?

[Answer] It is not for me to say "what women must do." I simply think that they must be aided in developing their role and in better preparing themselves to assume it by becoming informed about their obligations as well as about their rights. In order to do this, the recognition of women's actions predicates that these activities be fit into the actions for development.

On a general basis, they must take part in all actions which contribute to the welfare of the family and the betterment of the nation. In other words, all sectors of national life must know women's specific and distinctive mark in order for their impact to be a reality.

First of all, they must organize themselves into associations, groups, cooperatives, etc.... Then they must establish objectives involving health, agriculture, stock farming, commerce and small-scale industries. Finally, they must follow up all these objectives with an educational and training program in order to prevent these concerns of theirs [from being posed any longer in demanding terms.] Rather, their realization must come to pass quickly.

[Question] The "women's dossier" is very thick. What are your priorities?

[Answer] As you know, women represent more than half of the nation's population. The overwhelming majority of this population lives in a rural area (1,648,653 rural women as opposed to 859,450 urban women). These figures speak volumes and indicate that our priorities must be oriented in particular toward the rural environment.

It is for us to work toward unified development through women participating in their own change, in perfect harmony with men, their natural partners.

The tasks of community development programs, information and training will be intensified to prepare women to assume their new responsibilities. Here are a few priorities established by my ministry, the implementation of which requires the cooperation of other ministries:

To organize women into dynamic groups capable of taking charge of their own development, to aid them in greater production through appropriate training, to help in organizing their production flow, to lighten their housework by furnishing them with adequate appliances.

To see to it that women are no longer victims of any discrimination, de facto or de jure, by improving their legal status; to establish day nurseries and infrastructures suitable to accommodate women who leave their localities; to encourage wage-earning and nonwage-earning employment in cooperation with the ministries; to integrate women into decision-making bodies: cooperatives and rural communities; to improve their health

conditions by emphasizing nutritional needs and problems relating to family planning; in a word, to make women conscientious and responsible citizens.

[Question] What means are available to you? Are they sufficient?

[Answer] As I just said, first of all, there is governmental solidarity; then, there is the political measure which just merged the secretary for women's affairs with the secretary for human development.

This merger allows these two ministries' resources to be consolidated and increased. But what ministry has sufficient means? Our status as an underdeveloped country and the current economic situation fully justify this action.

The human resources exist; but the material and financial resources are very small in comparison with our programs. They must be improved! However, thanks to the action fund for women and international cooperation, the financing of plans totaling more than 7 billion francs CPA has been obtained; almost all of these plans involve women.

[Question] You have been occupied with women's condition in life ever since the government's formation. Do you feel that you have improved this condition? Are you satisfied with your work? Can you give us an assessment?

[Answer] I would like to say that the office of secretary of state for women's affairs has been concerned with women's conditions for 2 years, but it must be recognized that 2 years is not enough to improve their condition perceptibly. Our priority is to explore the situation in order to enumerate the problems.

It is not very easy to give an assessment of a ministry which is very new and first had to organize itself while putting its own structures into operation.

For example, dossiers relating to women's legal situation, their position in family law, their possibilities for access to responsible positions (entrance to the diplomatic section of ENAM, for example), their social security, the exodus of young women, and the problems posed on the 25th of March 1979 are under study.

The protection of the family, the living conditions of families, and the integration of women into development actions have also received my attention during these 2 years.

Some women's grievances expressed during my tour around the regions and concerning small equipment were answered thanks to the action fund for women.

This year again, in the framework of the National Fortnight of the Woman, I must deliver equipment to women's groups. Much still remains to be done to fill our rural sisters from menial tasks. In addition, at my request,

planning offices are studying the problems of improving women's conditions in the regions of Louga and the Fleuve. These reports, which will lead to specific projects, will be submitted to me. These studies concern education, training and the elimination of illiteracy; shopkeeping and cottage industries; the hygiene and health of the mother; the utilization of maternity hospitals and family planning.

On the international level, we have implemented exchange programs with friendly countries, such as Tunisia.

Our efforts have also been oriented in the direction of United Nations service organizations which show a sustained interest in our programs.

In rural areas, women's groups, with the ministry's support, have been organized in productive agro-pastoral activities and in cottage industries.

I do not know if this assessment is positive when compared with all the objectives which my ministry has established and with the amount of effort which my associates and I have given. In any case, it is difficult to be a judge in one's own case...

9181

CSO: 4400

SENEGAL

BRIEFS

AIRLINES SUED--A lawsuit, which is undoubtedly the first of its kind in Africa, has been filed by the inhabitants of the districts near the Dakar-Yoff airport against the airline companies using the Dakar air space. According to the Dakar daily LE SOLEIL, the inhabitants of the districts near the airport have asked a Dakar attorney, Mr Boye, to take legal action against the airline companies because of the harm caused by noise from the airplanes. The proceedings will take place in the month of April, and the airline companies will be defended by a Paris attorney, Mr Garnot. [Text] [Brazzaville LA SEMAINE AFRICAINE in French 27 Mar-2 Apr 80 p 2] 9174

CSO: 4400

REPORTAGE ON PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO IRAQ

President's Speech

Victoria NATION in English 29 Apr 80 pp 2, 8

[Text] Seychelles' progress towards a society of equal opportunity, the Palestinian question, the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace, the need for Third World countries to collaborate--these were some of the topics in a wide-ranging speech by President Rene on his official visit to Iraq earlier this week. Here is the full text of the President's speech in Baghdad:

It gives me great pleasure to be in the Republic of Iraq today. Both myself and members of my delegation have been agreeably surprised and touched by the warmth of the reception accorded to us upon our arrival.

The generous hospitality of the Iraqis, as demonstrated since we landed in Baghdad, is clear evidence of the mutual friendship which already exists between our two countries, a friendship which we can now begin to translate into a meaningful programme of cooperation and upon which we can further strive to enhance the budding relationship between our respective peoples.

The Republic of Seychelles emerged as an independent nation barely four years ago. These four years, however, have been more significant in terms of shaping the destiny of the Seychellois people than the 200 years of French and British colonial rule which preceded them.

In the space of four short years the people of Seychelles have swept aside the neo-colonial structures established following independence and initiated a broad programme of reform aimed at ensuring that effective power is wielded by the people.

This task is a formidable one and it would be naive to assume that it can be achieved overnight. Our revolution has many enemies and the price of ensuring its survival and progress is unrelenting and constant vigilance.

A momentary lapse could easily provide the opportunity for our enemies to strike a mortal blow to the revolution and catapult the aspirations of the Seychellois people back to a situation far bleaker than the darkest moments of our colonial past.

The road to real and effective popular democracy must consequently be protected by the vanguard of the revolution--the Party. The Seychelles People's Progressive Front is committed to this task.

It will ensure that all attempts to divert the direction of the revolution or to impede its progress are thwarted. It will also endeavour to catalyze the revolutionary process and ultimately become the vehicle through which the people may determine their own destiny.

Two hundred years of continuous colonial rule left the Republic of Seychelles with a society wherein the institutionalised mechanisms of domination remained firmly entrenched. The surrender of political authority by the British on June 29, 1976, although a significant step forward in our historical evolution, turned out, therefore, to be merely a cosmetic operation.

One of the first priorities of the Front after the people removed the neo-colonial administration from office on June 5, 1977 was the need to assert the national character of the Seychellois people.

This, in a country where the BBC was still the only official source of foreign news, where the banking system, the tourism industry and other key sectors of the national economy were still largely dominated by foreign interest, was not an easy proposition. Our efforts to enhance the political awareness of the masses met with constant manoeuvres by the forces of reaction to spread confusion and to destabilize the Government.

Our determination to forge ahead despite these obstacles, however, saw us through these temporary setbacks. Although we cannot afford to remain complacent in the face of these attempts to destabilize our Government and divert the course of our revolution, we remain confident that the path we have opted for is irreversible and no obstacle can hinder the progress of our people towards their ultimate objective, the establishment of a socialist society based on the principles of social justice and equality.

At independence Seychelles also inherited an educational system designed specifically to perpetuate the stratification and restrict the social mobility of the power section of the community. A dual system of education operated wherein the rich and the poor co-existed in a situation not dissimilar in many respects to apartheid.

Fee-paying schools, beyond the reach of the ordinary worker, provided a relatively high standard of education and opened the doors of British universities to those people who could afford to buy this elitist form of education.

The ordinary worker had to content himself with an education which would ensure that his child would, like him, be caught in a vicious circle and forever be regarded as a second-class citizen. The educational system was the most subtle element of a deliberately socially divisive policy.

Since our revolution on June 5, 1977, we have consequently devoted particular attention to evolving a system which would provide an equal level of instruction to every child irrespective of social factors. We would be deluding ourselves if we thought that the implementation of such a policy would not be fraught with difficulties.

The cost of upgrading the standard of previously unprivileged schools has been phenomenal. The task of improving the physical condition of sub-standard school buildings and providing teaching personnel of suitable calibre has often been beyond the ability of our resources to finance and we have had to rely on friendly nations for assistance. It is our belief, however, that our educational policies will bear dividends in the future and we are not afraid of making the necessary investments whatever the cost may be.

Another area of our social infrastructure which called for immediate structural reform on account of inherent inequalities was the system of health care. As with the educational system, the inequalities which characterised our society found themselves translated into the health services.

Health, this inalienable right enshrined in the UN Charter on Human Rights, was a commodity with a commercial value. It is perhaps ironic that the value of the commodity, or the price which one was expected to pay for medical services, bore no direct relationship to its quality or effectiveness.

A private medical practitioner, who operated his clinic as a commercial enterprise, would charge a disproportionately high fee for the same service or drug which could be obtained at a lesser or no cost from the Government clinic. Since capitalism educates the masses to assume that quality is invariably correlated with price levels, we were faced with a situation where social segregation was being actively promoted on entirely fictitious grounds.

The social segregation also permeated the Government medical services. Here the commodity was privacy. A bed in a private room could be obtained if one could afford the cost--otherwise a patient had the option of being treated in a dormitory-type second class ward if he was not so well off or in a third class if he was even less well off!

Abolition of private medical practice and of discriminatory practices within the public medical system consequently were the major features of the structural reforms which we put into effect since the revolution.

Equally important, however, and perhaps of greater direct benefit to the population in general, has been our decision to decentralize the system of health care. Whereas the system in the past had tended to favour the urban population, we have now achieved an even spread of medical care throughout the Republic by setting up fully equipped medical centres in the various districts.

These reform measures have been achieved at a significant cost but we realise that no sacrifice is too great if it results in the enhancement of national health standards.

It would be difficult for me to outline, within the framework of this address, the entire programme of social reform undertaken by the Government under the direction of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front. Our programme is ambitious but it is one which is vital both in terms of evolving a more equitable and just society and also ensuring that every citizen is properly equipped to participate fully in the economic advancement of the country.

However, we realise that it is folly to embark on a costly programme of social reforms without making a serious and simultaneous effort to raise the level of economic activity.

To neglect production while increasing consumption is a certain recipe for national bankruptcy. Our Five-Year National Development Plan consequently places great emphasis on promoting investment into productive sectors. During the plan period we hope to make significant investments in such diverse fields as fisheries, agriculture and light industries.

Our success in this respect will depend to a large extent on our ability to mobilize the necessary capital to fund the various projects. Our ability to attract finance has not so far been able to match our investment needs. Commercial lending institutions

have pitched their lending rates beyond our reach.

The industrialised countries, upon whom we had placed so much hope initially, expect in many instances to barter aid in return for political or economic influence — this we cannot accept. Developmental assistance by the richer industrialised countries must be motivated by a genuine desire to raise living standards in Third World countries.

Any attempt to use aid as a lever to manipulate the Third World back into a situation of colonial docility must be treated with the contempt it deserves. Independence is the birthright of every nation irrespective of its size or wealth. Until this simple fact is respected we will continue to live in a world torn by bitter conflicts and rivalries as countries seek to impose their will on others in pursuit of selfish economic advantages.

In order to fulfill the objectives of our development plan we have, therefore, turned to our relatively more affluent friends in the Third World. We have found sympathy and a genuine understanding of the problems of development and we are confident that we may, through a process of mutual cooperation with the Third World, be able to improve the living conditions of our people and lay a second economic base for our country.

I WOULD NOW like to address myself to an issue which is the source of grave concern to the Republic of Seychelles and to other peace-loving nations in this part of the world. The Republic of Seychelles, as a member of the Non-aligned Movement, takes a serious view of the recent growth of military rivalry between the great powers, particularly in the Indian Ocean area.

The deployment of foreign warships into the ocean grows steadily. Every crisis in the area provides an excuse for further escalation of military arsenals. Diplomatic activity has been intensified as efforts are made to secure shore-based military support facilities.

The Indian Ocean, instead of being turned into a Zone of Peace, is progressively being transformed into a battleground for an inevitable conflict of proportions yet unsurpassed in the history of mankind. In this conflict of giants, the countries of the region will be the unfortunate casualties.

It is imperative, therefore, that we should endeavour to concert our efforts in an attempt to stave off this senseless convergence of the great powers into the Indian Ocean and hopefully avert a confrontation. In order to do so it is imperative that the Members of the Non-aligned Movement should close ranks and assert their independence. It must be made clear to the great military powers that the world does not look forward to the prospect of a nuclear holocaust which irresponsible actions will inevitably bring about.

The countries which form part of the Non-aligned Movement have a significant role to play in this respect. They must, at all cost, resist the temptation to join military alliances with any great power in return for short-term benefits. They must jealously guard their free-

dom and refuse to compromise their national sovereignty because once a country permits its sovereignty to be eroded it loses its claim to nationhood.

The Non-aligned Movement provides the only effective methods of countering the influence of the great powers and every effort should consequently be made to ensure that it remains a dynamic organisation devoted to peace and stability in the World.

Another issue which is of deep concern to us and to any country which has felt and suffered the humiliation of subjugation is the problem of the Palestinian people. Condemned by a cruel twist of fate to live as aliens in their own homeland, herded as sheep into refugee camps, denied the right to call themselves citizens of a State with tangible frontiers, the Palestinians present one of the most tragic human dramas in the world today.

That a people should be subjected to such degradation and human suffering before achieving nationhood is inconceivable in a world which prides itself for having emerged from pre-historical barbarity.

The world cannot afford to stand by and dispassionately watch the perpetration of this crime against an entire nation. The denial of a home to an individual is already a serious matter — the brutal denial of a homeland to an entire nation must

therefore, rank among the most despicable of any crime possible.

The world community has a moral duty to stand up and protest against the violation of this fundamental national right. The world should condemn the proposed Camp David Accord and any future initiative which seeks to perpetuate the notion that the Palestinians do not exist. The Palestinians fulfill all the criteria for nationhood and their right to a home must be given a real and physical expression without further delay.

I HAVE mentioned earlier that the Republic of Seychelles is anxious to develop links and to cooperate with the countries of the Third World. Only in this manner can we hope to promote our respective national development efforts. The historical North/South dependency situation evolved through centuries of colonialism has conspired against the fulfilment of national development objectives in the Third World and promoted, at the same time, the economic development of the rich industrialised countries as we know them today.

The future for the countries of the Third World must necessarily involve a shift from the traditional North/South ties in favour of a closer collaboration between them. It is in this spirit that I have made it a point during the past year to pay a number of official

visits to Third World countries. The outcome of these visits has been a highly satisfying experience both for myself and for the Republic of Seychelles.

My visit to the Republic of Iraq today is undertaken in a similar spirit. It is my hope that we may, during the short period of my visit, hold useful discussions with a view to laying the foundations for a broad-based programme of cooperation in the mutual interests of our two countries. I am convinced that the spirit of goodwill which has characterised our brief but friendly period of association will shortly be translated into a tangible plan for the extension and diversification of our friendship and cooperation.

In conclusion may I, once again, thank you for the warmth of the welcome extended to us upon our arrival and for the excellent arrangements which have been made in connection with our visit.

Both myself and members of my delegation will carry pleasant memories of our historic visit to the Republic of Iraq. May I now propose a toast to the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Iraq and Seychelles; to the continued good health of President Saddam Hussein; to greater solidarity and cooperation among the countries of the Third World; and to Peace in the Indian Ocean and in the World!

Text of Joint Communiqué

Victoria NATION in English 2 May 80 pp 3, 6

[Text] At the invitation extended by H.E. Saddam Hussain, President of the Republic of Iraq, H.E. France Albert Rene, President of the Republic of Seychelles, paid a state visit to the Republic of Iraq over the period 27th-30th April 1980 accompanied by a high level official delegation.

The distinguished guest and his delegation were accorded a warm reception by H.E., the President of the Republic and the Government and people of Iraq in expression of friendship and amity linking the government and peoples of the two friendly countries.

H.E. the President of the Republic of Iraq, held official talks with H.E. the President of the Republic of Seychelles. The talks, attended by a number of senior Government officials, were held in a spirit of friendship and solidarity.

They covered bilateral relations between the two countries and questions of common interest. They covered also the current international situation particularly with regard to the Arab region, the African continent and the Non-aligned Movement.

The Seychelles side highly valued the progressive achievements accomplished in the Republic of Iraq under the Leadership of the Militant President Saddam Hussain and the guidance of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in various fields aimed at achieving socialist transformation and consolidating the independence of the country and its control over its resources and the positive role played by Iraq in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

The Iraqi side highly valued the course pursued by the Republic of Seychelles in the development of its national economy and achieving social transformations on the basis of self-reliance under the Leadership of the Militant France Albert Rene and the guidance of the Seychelles People's Progressive Front. It also valued the sound policy consistently pursued by the Republic of Seychelles through its support of the national liberation movements of the African Peoples and its effective participation in the organization of African Unity.

In their discussion of bilateral relations between the two countries, the two sides noted with satisfaction that those relations are developing. The two sides agreed on taking steps ensuring their strengthening in the interests of the two friendly countries and on the basis of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of each state.

During the visit, a number of Agreements were signed between the two countries aimed at the promotion of cooperation between Iraq and Seychelles in various spheres.

The two sides discussed the situation in the Arab region. They vigorously condemned the racist, Zionist aggression against the Arab People. They stressed that a just and durable peace could not be achieved without the full and unconditional withdrawal of the Zionist forces from all the occupied Arab Palestinian territories and the regaining by the Arab Palestinian people of their full rights on their territory and homeland, Palestine, and the establishment of their independent sovereign state on the entire Palestinian soil under the leadership of their sole, legitimate representative, the Palestinian Liberation Movement.

The two sides recalled the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly considering Zionism to be a form of racism and racial discrimination and apartheid in their various forms and their elimination are the responsibility of all the peoples and states.

The two sides condemned the Zionist aggression against southern Lebanon which constitutes part of the imperialist manoeuvres aimed at liquidating the Palestinian Resistance and violates the sovereignty of Lebanon and its territorial integrity.

The two sides vigorously condemned the Camp David accords and the capitulationist treaty concluded between the Egyptian regime and the Zionist entity with the participation of the United States of America which constitute a conspiracy to liquidate the rights of the Arab Palestinian people and an attempt at disuniting Arab ranks and keeping Arab territories under Zionist occupation.

The two sides lauded the resolution of the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Movement which condemns the Camp David accords and the resolution of the conference to refer the question of suspending the membership of Egypt in the movement to the coordinating Bureau of the Movement.

The two sides stressed that the capitulationist policy pursued by the Egyptian regime and the harm caused by that policy to the Palestinian question and the interests of the Arab Nation constitute a violation of the principles of the Non-aligned Movement and its resolutions and require suspending the membership of Egypt in the Movement.

The Seychelles side expressed its valuation of the free policy pursued by the Government of the Republic of Iraq which stresses the adoption of an independent line and the upholding of the principles of the Non-aligned Movement.

The Seychelles side lauded the principles and aims contained in the pan-Arab Declaration announced by the President of the Republic of Iraq on 8th February 1980. The two sides stressed their determination and resolve to abide by the

principles of the Non-aligned Movement and enhance its role and effectiveness in the establishment of a new international order for political and economic relations among the states and peoples of the world.

The two sides stressed their full support and backing for Liberation Movements of African and Latin America. They vigorously condemned the racial regimes on the African continent and their policies based on apartheid. They called for common action by all the progressive countries for ending the oppression imposed on the peoples of South Africa and Namibia by the racial and illegal regime in South Africa.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction at the fact that the colonial influence in Africa is receding due to the just struggle of the peoples of this continent and at the fact that the racial regimes based on racial discrimination and apartheid are doomed to elimination just like any racial movement.

The Government and peoples of the two countries express their high satisfaction at the decisive victory of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe which was crowned by independence on 18th April 1980. They announce their preparedness to back the new regime and to stand by its side on the path of enhancing its independence and realizing stability and prosperity for the friendly people of Zimbabwe.

The two sides stressed that preserving security and stability in the Arab Gulf region is the sole responsibility of the states of that region, without any foreign intervention.

The two sides stressed their support for making the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions a zone of peace free from foreign influence and foreign bases in the interest of the states and peoples of the area and world peace and security.

The two sides view with concern the negative development in international relations and the tension among the big powers and between the two super-powers which serves as a warning of the possibility of the return of the cold war policy and sharp conflict among blocs.

This threatens a world war or wars by proxy which will impair the sovereignty and independence of the peoples. Iraq and Seychelles support and call for a policy of peaceful co-existence among the peoples in various parts of the world regardless of the nature of their various social systems. They appeal to various peoples and states including the great powers to conduct themselves with a real sense of responsibility in questions which threaten world security and peace among nations.

Concerning the situation in Afghanistan, the two sides believe that a solution to the problem must be achieved by peaceful means so as to create conditions for the withdrawal of foreign forces.

They stressed that the security of the country must be preserved and the will of the people respected.

The two sides also stressed the necessity of continuing comprehensive negotiations between the industrialized states and the developing states on international economic cooperation in development. Such negotiations should be action-oriented, allowing an integrated and balanced approach to major relevant questions, proceeding simultaneously at various levels, conducted within the United Nations system, with full participation by all states, and within a specific time framework. They should cover main issues in the fields of raw materials, energy, trade development, currency, finance and the transfer of technology.

Those international negotiations should make an important contribution to the implementation of the strategy of international development for the United Nations Third Development Decade.

The two sides reiterated their support for the necessity of coordination by the developing states of their efforts for implementing the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly at its two special sessions on the establishment of a new international economic order.

In their discussion of the Non-aligned Movement, the two sides praised the resolutions taken by the Sixth Non-aligned Summit Conference held in Havana. They stressed their resolve and determination to work for the unity and basic principles of the movement and enhancing its role and effectiveness in establishing a new international order for international political and economic relations in the world.

The Seychelles side supported the proposals put forward by Iraq on many occasions, the last of which was at the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Movement for developing the Movement and enhancing its effectiveness in the international relations, the strengthening of political and economic ties among its members, the establishment of qualitative organisations for producers, supporting the negotiating positions of the states of the Movement with a view to freeing wealth and national resources from monopolies and multinational companies in pursuit of the goal of the establishment of the new economic order on the basis of justice and equality.

The two sides agreed on full cooperation for ensuring the success of the seventh summit conference for the Non-aligned Movement which will be held in Baghdad in 1982.

The two sides reiterated their full support for the United Nations Organisation and for the basic principles enshrined in the Charter including the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, eliminating the danger of threat of the use of force in international relations, respect for the self-determination and independence of all peoples' sovereignty, equality among states and their control over their wealth and natural resources.

The Seychelles side valued Iraq's initiative of putting forward the proposal of establishing a long-term world fund for assisting the developing states against the effects of inflation on the basis of the advanced industrialized states, regardless of the nature of their political and economic systems, contributing to that fund in the amount of the annual inflation exported by them to the developing states, as well as contributed to by the oil-producing developing states. The two sides called on the states concerned to adopt and assist a practical formula for bringing the proposal into speedy implementation.

H.E. the President of the Republic of Seychelles expressed to H.E. the President of Iraq his deep gratitude for the warm reception and cordial hospitality accorded to him and to his delegation during their stay in Iraq.

H.E. France Albert Rene, the President of the Republic of Seychelles, extended an official invitation to H.E. Saddam Hussain, the President of the Republic of Iraq, to visit the People and the Republic of Seychelles. The invitation was accepted with great pleasure. Its date will be fixed later.

Baghdad, 30th April, 1980.

Rene Satisfied

Victoria NATION in English 2 May 80 pp 1, 2

[Text]

PRESIDENT Albert Rene returned home on Wednesday night and described his official visit to Iraq satisfying and very fruitful.

The President spent four days in Iraq at the invitation of President Saddam Hussein. He was accompanied by a five-man delegation which included the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jacques Hodoul, the Minister of Education and Information, Mr. James Michel, the Permanent Secretary for Finance, Mr. Guy Morel, and Mr. Emmanuel Faure, of the Ministry of Planning and Development.

Speaking shortly after he stepped down from the special Iraqi government plane

which had been put at his disposal for the return trip. President Rene placed his visit and talks with the Iraqi Head of State in the context of developing the much needed co-operation between Third World countries.

"A cooperation without any political conditions or ambition as certain powers try to impose", he stressed. "This sort of cooperation without ties is true independence and Third World countries must fight for this principle."

Of the economic and technical cooperation agreement signed at the end of the visit, the Head of State said it was an accord for mutual help. Seychelles had agreed to go into

partnership with Iraq in a fishing venture in the Indian Ocean which would benefit both countries.

At the same time, Iraq realised that Seychelles needed help for its development, and the discussion had centred mainly on agriculture.

He said that following discussions with Algeria, we now have the means to give all our children the best education here. Now it was time to do the same for agriculture.

"It is high time for us to take a final decision to develop our land to provide our own food and stop relying on imports", the President said. "Our discussion therefore was on how to get help to put this into practice.

Other countries that we have approached in the past have not shown much interest. This time an important step forward has been taken and the people will realise just how important it is when they see the results in one or two years."

Share Similar Views

Victoria NATION in English 2 May 80 pp 1, 8

[Text]

THE Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Education and Information also spoke of the talks they had with their counterparts during the visit to Iraq.

Mr. Jacques Hodoul said Victoria and Baghdad have similar views on the great majority of world issues.

"The Iraqis are as preoccupied as we are with the continued military escalation in the region", he said "and have assured us that they will back us diplomatically in our efforts to get the big powers to withdraw".

Mr. Hodoul also announced that Iraq will open an embassy in Seychelles as soon as it is feasible.

Mr. James Michel's discussions with his counterparts covered students' training and exchanges in the cultural and information fields.

"We have reached an agreement which will form the base for future cooperation", he said. "Iraq has agreed to provide training for our students up to technical college and university levels.

"We also discussed problems in information and how to improve exchanges between our two information services. The agreement also covers exchanges in sports, youth and culture.

Minister Michel was also questioned about reports in

the international news media about an alleged assassination of the Iraqi President Rene arrived in Baghdad.

Mr Michel dismissed the reports as baseless, adding that here was proof that not everything reported by foreign news agencies or radio stations was necessarily true, simply because they happened to be reported by foreign sources.

"We here in Seychelles grew up with the belief that whatever the foreign news media says was true. These untrue reports prove the fallacy of this concept and show how the international news media try to destabilize developing and progressive nations by distributing worldwide sensational news of the nature regardless of the fact such news stories are ob-

viously without any foundation of truth.

The NATION received these reports from the various news agencies which quoted Iranian radio news bulletins about the assassination of the Iraqi President following a coup d'etat.

However, since the correspondent of our own news agency (SAP) reported the safe arrival of President Rene and his meeting with President Hussein, we were able to dismiss the reports as false accounts being exploited by news agencies for the sake of sensation.

The Presidential delegation was met on its return at the airport last night by Ministers, members of the SPPF Central Executive Committee, the diplomatic corps and senior government officials.

CSO: 4420

GOVERNMENT TO OPEN TOURIST OFFICE IN FRANKFURT

Victoria NATION in English 30 Apr 80 pp 1, 8

[Text]

SEYCHELLES is to open its first National Tourist Office in Central Europe next month. The new all-Seychellois office will be in Frankfurt, West Germany, and will represent and promote the islands in Germany, Austria and Switzerland three of the most important tourist markets.

Heading the new office will be Tourism Officer Gilbert Pool, who until last month was in charge of the Seychelles Tourist Office in London. He leaves for Frankfurt on May 17.

Mr. Pool, who will be helped by Tourism Assistant Miss Leonie Isaac, replaces Miss Christine Hedegaard, Seychelles' Public Relations representative for the past three years. Miss Hedegaard will remain as consultant to the new office until the end of the year.

Miss Isaac is now taking a tourism course in Salzburg, Austria, which she will complete next month.

The site for the new office was chosen last month by Capt. James Ferrari, Principal Secretary for Transport and Tourism, after his visit to the International Tourism Bourse in Berlin. Frankfurt is generally regarded as the centre of the travel trade in Europe with over 60 national tourist offices in the city.

"It is in line with Government policy to staff overseas tourism offices with Seychellois as and when possible," said Capt. Ferrari. "The new office will provide us with a good base from which to improve our visitor figures from Central Europe and consequently diversify our tourism market."

The German market has been fast expanding since the start of the Lufthansa flights between Seychelles and Frankfurt. Last year it contributed 5,194 tourists to the overall visitor figure of 78,852. Germany, Austria and Switzerland together provided about 14 per cent of that total.

LONG PIER TUNA FACILITIES HANDED OVER TO GOVERNMENT

Victoria NATION in English 26 Apr 80 pp 1, 2

[Text]

THE 1,000-tonne tuna cold store and quay on the Long Pier, Victoria, were officially handed over to the Seychelles Government yesterday, marking a significant step towards a successful tuna fishing industry that is a vital part of the National Development Plan.

The store, quay and associated equipment were accepted by Mr. Karl St. Ange, Minister of State for Agriculture, from the British High Commissioner, Mr. John Pugh.

Together the installations are the most important step towards an oceanic fishery in waters that have perhaps the richest tuna resources in the world, said Minister St. Ange.

"For years our fish resources have been exploited by foreign fleets — Seychelles has received nothing in return. Since 1977, one of the main priorities of this government has been to establish a commercial fishing industry so that we, too, could cash in on our vast fisheries resources.

"The establishment of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone raised the question not only of rights within its limits but also of responsibilities. It became our responsibility to develop this resource for the betterment of our society."

The Minister looked back on the history of the project which began when surveys showed that Seychelles could support a substantial commercial export fishery. The development of this fishery became the most important proposal of the Government's Five-Year Development Plan and was allocated R. 105 million.

In 1978 negotiations began in earnest with Britain and France for aid, with the British Government agreeing to finance the shore infrastructure and the French Government the establishment of the fishing fleet.

The quay was completed by Kier International in June 1979 and the cold store — built by Gleeson Civil Engineering — came into operation in January 1980 when

the first tuna vessels began fishing. The total cost of the store, quay and associated equipment is R 21 million, provided through British aid funds.

Seychelles now has the basis for a developing and expanding fishing industry, but the cold store, the quay and the boats are simply the means to an end — on their own they cannot create prosperity, added Minister St. Ange.

"Now that we have the tools with which to work, let us begin the task of building the fishing industry as we wish to see it. We have the fish in our waters, we must now unite our efforts to catch this fish.

"This calls for close co-operation on the part of everyone, dedication to the work we undertake and a strong sense of discipline. This industry is ours, we must make it work."

The Minister thanked the British Government and said that this was an expression of faith and goodwill in the development of Seychelles and was most encouraging, he said.

He also called on everyone associated with the project to look upon themselves as pioneers in the industry and work to make it a success.

Fishing had always been a great tradition of the Seychellois and the sea almost like a second home.

In his handing-over speech, Mr. Pugh said the fact that

Britain had committed nearly R. 60 million to the fisheries project showed how much importance it attached to this resource from the oceans.

He referred to the recent successful meetings in Seychelles of an EEC/ACP seminar which dealt with regional cooperation in fisheries and an Indian Ocean conservation conference.

"It is essential that the two great processes — conservation and utilisation — operate in harmony. The Government of Seychelles have naturally recognized this and indeed it was the Government of Seychelles which took the initiative in setting up both these important regional meetings," said Mr. Pugh.

He also mentioned a speech of President Rene, who said that the developed countries of the world must look upon themselves primarily as partners in a process of world development.

Since France and Britain have been associated with Seychelles throughout her history, it is fitting that the two countries, both members of the EEC, should now work together with the new and energetic Republic of Seychelles, added the High Commissioner.

"My Government believes it important that Seychelles should have not only political but also economic independence. The one is not much use without the other."

BRIEFS

PRASLIN EMPLOYMENT--Soon the unemployed of Praslin will have the opportunity of taking part in the Full Employment Scheme, which is aimed at giving work to those who want to. The management of the scheme will visit Praslin at the beginning of May to look into its setting-up. They will also recruit personnel to run the scheme over there. It is hoped that the scheme will be running smoothly on the island towards the end of May. There will be two definite assembly points--Baie St. Anne by the welfare centre and Grand' Anse opposite the Government clinic. There may be more assembly points after the survey by management has been carried out. It has been estimated that the number of unemployed on Praslin is roughly one quarter of that on Mahe. The number of people per day, who turned up to work with the scheme last month was 225. So far this month 5221 workers have been registered--an average of 290 people per day. This represents almost a 30 percent increase over March, said a spokesman. [Text] [Victoria NATION in English 26 Apr 80 p 2]

RENE VISITS INDIA--State House announced yesterday that President France Albert Rene will be paying an official visit to India in the near future at the invitation of President Sanjiva Reddy. The visit is aimed at consolidating the friendly relations existing between the two countries and President Rene will also have talks with President Reddy and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on bilateral and regional cooperation. It will be noted that Seychelles places great importance on developing political, economic and social cooperation with regional and third world countries. Relations between Seychelles and India date back to several decades and lately these have been strengthened in several fields of mutual interest. [Text] [Victoria NATION in English 26 Apr 80 p 1]

CSO: 4420

EDITORIAL CLAIMS ETHIOPIAN PROPAGANDA AIMED AT DIVERSION

Mogadishu HORSEED in Italian 18 Apr 80 p 1

[Editorial: "More Lies"]

[Text] As usual, the Addis Ababa regime is continuing and intensifying its campaign of lies against the Somali Democratic Republic. The last accusation is that the SDR reputedly violated in recent days the territory under Abissynian "rule." Simply put, Somalia allegedly occupied some parts of Western Somalia. If anyone has occupied anything, it certainly is not the SDR, but the liberation movements, and Abissynia must deal with them, as the president of the SDR, Challe Mohamed Siad Barre clearly declared in his recent speech.

Despite the continuous attacks and violations of all international laws, which have caused the death of many innocents as well as serious loss of property, the SDR has not reacted to the provocations, but instead registered its protest at the U.N.

Why, then, such a propaganda which, above all, lacks any psychological support? The reply can only be that when an oppressive regime must calm domestic public opinion and divert the people's attention from injustices and deprivations, it appeals to the masses' patriotism and nationalism. In this instance, the Ethiopian regime must confront, besides the foreign-based liberation movements, also the domestic ones: what better scapegoat, then, than neighboring Somalia? However, it seems somewhat strange that a regime which is only nominally sovereign, which conducts a war of oppression with the support of its powerful ally in the name of that freedom which it daily tramples upon, should claim to be the defender of the right to sovereignty and freedom and should invoke internationally acknowledged principles at the same time that it shamelessly violates them every day.

Ethiopia, the sole country responsible for the tragic situation in the Horn of Africa, continues, then, its campaign of impudent lies. It should perhaps recall those pages of history which recount the life and death of various tyrants. The time spent meditating on this subject would be better spent and more profitable. One never knows: it could also, perhaps, foresee what is in store for its regime!

BRIEFS

DISSIDENTS PRESS CONFERENCE CANCELLED--A press conference given by the Togolese Movement for Democracy (MTD) was interrupted on Tuesday, 29 April in Paris on orders from police headquarters. Gilchrist Olympio and Patrik Lawson, leaders of the movement, had to end the conference following notification by the director of the establishment where the press conference was being held--who was accompanied by several police officials--that they could not hold the meeting. The MTD, which had organized a show and a dance in Paris on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of Togolese independence, had already been notified by the same authorities about the cancellation of these activities. According to the MTD, these measures were adopted following a request by the Togolese government and this country's diplomatic mission in Paris. When they were interrupted, Olympio and Lawson were discussing the "violation" of human rights in Togo and were mentioning "arbitrary arrests," "tortures" and "deportations to the Temedja camp," as well as murders "committed by the Togolese regime." [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 2 May 80 p 6]

CSO: 4400

GOVERNMENT TAKES ON LABOR UNIONS

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French Apr 80 pp 34-36

[Article by Morba Magassouba]

[Text] "On 3 January 1966 the workers took to the streets to put an end to the reactionary and anti-people policy of the Government of the First Republic^a. Today we have reached the limits of what can be borne. We invite all the workers and the whole of the Upper Voltan people to redouble their determination and their fighting spirit to put an end to the corrupt, reactionary and anti-people Government of the Third Republic." The arguments of Soumane Toure, the bubbling and dynamic leader of the Voltan Trade Union Confederation [CSV], the man who has ordered most of the strikes that have taken place in Upper Volta, were drowned out by thunderous applause and yells which shook the Labor Exchange of Ouagadougou, crammed to capacity. More than a free warning, this was a veritable appeal for an insurrection!

Is this a new take-off from an union which feels lassitude corroding the ardor of its militants? Is it a demonstration of force anticipating the early prospects of a mailed-fist clash which people expect to break out? The meeting on 17 March in any event indicated a new escalation in the open conflict which the government has opposed to the unions since the legislative and presidential elections of May 1978, which installed the Third Republic with Gen Sangoule Lamizana at its head. There is no doubt that the action of the Upper Voltan union members is of a clearly political nature, either on the side of the interested parties and even less on the side of the authorities. Everything is going on as if the central union organizations had replaced the political parties accused of carrying on "political politics." To hear Soumane Toure haranguing his troops at the time of the meeting in support of the agricultural agents who had been on strike for nearly three months, it was very possible to believe him invested with a political authority much greater than that of the 57 (now 56 after they invalidated the mandate of Deputy Zoumane Traore nearly...two years after his investiture!) politicians who argue at cross purposes in the National Assembly.

^aLed by former President Maurice Yameogo.

Not expecting much from the majority coalition, the Voltan Democratic Union-African Democratic Rally [UDV-RDA], skeptical as far as the activity of the National Union for the Defense of Democracy [UNDD] is concerned, the "party of Maurice" Yameogo, who is not outstanding for his hostility to the government, and a little disappointed by the socializing Popular Voltan Front [FPV] of Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo and of Mr Joseph Ouedraogo, who, since he is a declared adversary of the regime, is no less mired down in legalism, a good number of young Upper Voltans of the capital have gone "militating" in the unions. "To howl our discontent," specifies Ouedraogo Francis, a young bookkeeper on strike now busy sipping his "bibine" (beer) at the Brochettes de la Vie bar. A bar, an ordinary bar, like many others existing in the town, a veritable political institution where you go to spill out your anger between two swallows of sovohra or of dolo, the thick millet beer, to vent your bitter complaints, to yell about your disillusionment and pop off violent diatribes against the places occupied by the "crocodiles who rob the people." Alcohol runs in rivers. "To drown our sorrows," our man replies, his attitude half amused, half serious.

"Disquiet? What disquiet?" Mr Traore asks indignantly. Mr. Traore is a leader of the old African Regroupment Party [PRA] of Dr Palley Welte, the oldest political formation in the country, today a member of the presidential majority. And the man whose acquaintance we made two years ago, at the time of the famous and hot electoral tournament of the presidential candidate Lamizana at Koudougou, the fief of Mr Maurice Yameogo, to take it away, in very lively language, "from the ambitious and the thirsty for power on all sides who use the international press to throw discredit on the regime and on the institutions that the Upper Voltan people have democratically given themselves." Mr Traore, who finds no words violent enough to fend off the intrigues of "teleguided agents of foreign powers to put a spoke in the works," adds with the calm assurance of a man who is showing you evidence: "besides, Ouagadougou is not Upper Volta. The grass roots of the country, the real country is with us." There follows a broad movement of his imposing boubou as if to sweep away the doubts that he can inspire in his conversation partner. The disquiet is there and he does not sweep it away. It is certainly diffused, but very real. Like the curtain of red dust that falls on the capital during this season of the year and sticks in your throat and your nostrils. It is in the unpleasant arguments of a colleague who points an accusing finger at the "insolent" villa belonging to the former director of a company of that city, which is today bankrupt. In the hate-laden look that a motorcyclist throws in the wake of a brilliant red Mercedes driven by a chauffeur in white livery over a...lateritic road, bumpy, studded with chuckholes and thank-you-ma'ams. An attentive ear would easily hear: "and people think that Upper Voltans are poor and deprived of everything!" Scandalized statements picked up in passing and which are blown up more every day. The fateful word "corruption" is always teetering before your face like a slap. That is already understood. Here, there and elsewhere. However, in a country classified among the 16 poorest nations in the world, that word, that evil, that plague, has a particular resonance. Precisely from the fact of the extreme poverty of the Upper Voltans.

With an annual income located somewhere around \$110, the Upper Voltan does not appear to be privileged except in relation to the famished Cambodian, to the Laotian, to the Ethiopian and to the Bhutanese (from a tiny kingdom on the edge of the Himalayas). That low per capita income, which has furthermore experienced a vegetative growth rate of .8 percent on the average per year during the decade just past, well explains the deterioration of the economic tissue torn by the joint effects of the drought, which has caused a great decline in agricultural production (more than 94 percent of Upper Voltan exports are based on primary products), and of the galloping inflation which exceeded 1.3 percent per year for the first decade of independence and rose to an average of 7 percent per year since 1970!

This situation is even more dramatic in that the rate of food production has shown a very clear decline during the same period, going from 100 to 84, thus causing Upper Volta, an essentially agricultural country, to import more and more food products. Which explains in part the uneasy situation of the balance of payments, which has changed from a \$9 million surplus in 1970 to a large deficit of more than \$40 million.

To meet domestic demand and to respond to the needs of increasing production with a large investment, Upper Volta has been obliged to contract a large indebtedness. At the time of the parliamentary session consecrated to examining the proposed 1980 budget, a deputy of the Voltan Patriotic Front did not fail to wonder about "the frightful 15 percent interest" on a 3 billion CFA (African Financial Community) franc loan contracted with the International Bank for West Africa [BIAO].

A particularly difficult economic context which has often led Chief of State President Sangoule Lamizana to preach good citizenship and moderation when faced by the claims of Upper Voltan workers. Without going as far as an authoritarian reduction in the treatment of government employees, for example, as former President Yameogo had done--which furthermore had brought about his downfall--the "old general" has not hesitated in tightening the purse strings by giving only scanty wage increases. To the unions which demand--neither more nor less--a wage increase of 25 percent, the President of the Republic advises a "spirit of sacrifice."

None of that, the workers object, we have no intention of paying the costs of an austerity policy which operates to the sole profit of a "minority of corrupt politicians." And Mr Soumane Toure grows ironic about the "stomach revolution" preached by General Lamizana. During monstrous meetings he denounces waste--"they are throwing everything away in our country"--the "corrupt and the corrupters." "Lamizana asks us to have confidence in him," Mr Toure explains. How can we have confidence in people when they refuse to satisfy the legitimate claims of the workers under the pretext that there is no money in the treasury while they themselves fill their pockets with it?"

For the leaders of the four central union organizations in the country, the ditch is getting wider every day between the workers and the "caste of the newly rich." The meetings are used for public examination of "cases" of rapidly gained wealth, which is therefore suspect. Even such a respected personality as the Mogho Naba is not spared. According to their accusers, the "newly rich" have in common frequenting the halls of the government and therefore making astonishing fortunes there. Worse, it seems that the phenomenon of corruption is growing in an alarming way. "The wheeling and dealing does not even stop with the ministry errand boys," Zongo Pierre assures me. He is an employee in a big hotel and a militant in the OVSL [Voltan Organization of Free Trade Unions] of the turbulent Boniface Kabore, who went to prison--for the seventh time--last May.

A corollary of corruption, "businessism" seems to be all the rage in this country. Food, the sale of drinks, the hotel business, real estate, education are the favored fields of those who, in greater and greater numbers, desert the offices of the administration well before the closing time and leave on "long weekends." "Everything goes on," a colleague tells me, "as if the Upper Voltans worked only three days out of the seven!"

As if to exorcise that demon which is called "corruption," the Chief of State does not miss any occasion to bring it up in his speeches and in private. "Corruption, the attraction of easy winnings, the lack of respect for the republic, the businessism of certain men in high places are in the process of becoming a golden rule," President Sangoule Lamizana declares. His fiercest adversaries--especially Soumane Toure--recognize the ease of access allowed by the "old man" who, since his election to the presidency of the Third Republic, has granted a large number of audiences both to the unions and to the members of the opposition. "However," they reveal immediately, "it is not just a question of recognizing what is bad, it is above all necessary to act against it." Certainly a series of measures aiming at containing this problem has been taken or announced. Among them, a law regulating the practice of the profession of merchant and soon, it is thought, a bill to smash speculation in real estate and financial fraud. Caution on a wooden leg? A good number of adversaries think so and doubt the will and determination of the "old general" to bring to bear his heavy artillery against those who maintain corruption and live on it. "Do you expect him to punish the people who support him?" If the Chief of State is not directly accused, his entourage and the barons of the regime are not exposed to danger although they are the ones accused of all the crimes.

That does not fail to deeply irritate the "old man" who has had a tendency during recent months to soften his attitude. A policy of firmness which was especially demonstrated by the arrest and then the sentencing to six months in prison with time off for good behavior of Mr Boniface Kabore for "insulting the Prime Minister," by the suspension of several hundred students from the University and, above all, by depositing in the offices of the National Assembly a bill limiting the right to strike which was quickly withdrawn because of the unyielding opposition of the workers. The warning

strike of 48 hours decreed last 17 March by the Upper Volta Trade Union Confederation, which controls teaching personnel, bank employees and insurance company employees and many employees of government offices is the last episode in the now open struggle going on between the authorities and union members, accused of wishing to bring about "chaos in a country unspoiled by nature." In this combat where the "old general" is facing the enemy with a determination that people did not know he had in him, the political formations seemed to be relegated to second place. "Covered" by a man who had the merit to straighten out the economic situation inherited from the First Republic, with his rigorous management up to 1970, and who took the risk of reintroducing party pluralism in spite of, or because of dissensions between civilian leaders and who, it must be recognized, has not stooped to the temptation to set up--as is common in the region--a regime to destroy liberties, the parties of the presidential majority have been turning to the delights of politicking with a repidity which is almost scandalous. The taste for money and honorary distinctions seems to have taken hold of a certain number of personalities who, for the most part, belonged to the former regime. Having apparently learned nothing from the fiasco of the First Republic, the political personnel on the scene since independence do not feel the danger coming, they are so occupied at least for now in under-the-counter negotiations, political deals and pompous political display of every kind to keep themselves in power under the general's umbrella.

The conversations announced between the UIV-RDA and the UNDD, where former President Maurice Yameogo has made a comeback in force (see *DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE* No 48) in spite of his deprivation of civil rights, which is always a concern to him, and which would have as a goal a broadening of the presidential majority, are also heading in this direction. On the other side, the Upper Volta Patriotic Front (FPV) born of the fusion of the Upper Volta Progressive Union of Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo and of the "Rejectionist Front" of the picturesque Joseph Ouedraogo, called "Jo Oueder", the former mayor of the capital of Upper Volta. An "alliance against nature" rallies their adversaries. In spite of their differences on the ideological level the first one claims to represent African socialism and the second one liberalism--the alliance of the intellectual, the theoretician, to the "man of the people" (Mr Ouedraogo is also nicknamed "Mr Everybody"), the organization's readiness for political engagement confers on the front a form of effectiveness which seems to be at the origin of the regime's hesitation about organizing municipal elections.

However, even though the FPV is the beneficiary of some real friendliness from the unions, it has not yet reached the point where it can set itself up as the unifier of the entire leftist opposition. A good number of Upper Volta intellectuals would not be annoyed if they could see it become more radical so as to have the support of the unions, which do not hide their hostility in regard to all the political formations in the country. If that does not happen, it would be condemned to sit by as a spectator--which would seriously undermine its standing--of the mailed-fist combat which authorities and unions have been waging on each other for several months.

The issue of this trial of arms? It cannot be predicted. Lamizana is reported to be determined to put an end to anarchy. The unions are opposing him with their "fierce desire to thwart the reactionary and anti-popular policy of the government of the Third Republic." The "old general" is betting on the weariness of the unions where, it must be recognized, a wind of discouragement is blowing. This in spite of exhortations to persevere in the struggle, shouted by the leaders who dream of "inventing new techniques of struggle."

Threatened on the one hand, recriminations on the other. The only voice which is not heard in this clashing dialogue is that of the "grass-roots people." It is true that these people were silent during the consultations of May 1978 with the massive abstentions that we know about.

12116

CSO: 4400

UDV-RDA CONGRESS REPORTED; UNITY EMPHASIZED

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 7 Apr 80 p 37

[Article by Dominique Lagarde]

[Text] The last stage of the reorganization of the Upper Voltan political checker-board. After the elections of 30 April 1979, the Congress of the Voltan Democratic Union-African Democratic Rally [UDV-RDA], which opened at Ouagadougou on 25 March, was set under the sign of unity. While outside of the House of the People traditional dancers and musicians kept up a lively animation.

Some 2000 members of the Congress were employed in giving the presidential majority its new structures. All the formations which had supported the candidacy of Gen Sangoule Lamizana--notably the African Regroupment Party [PRA] and the National Union of Independents [UNI]--rallied around the UDV-RDA to form the Upper Voltan Democratic Party-African Democratic Rally [PDV-RDA]. As the Upper Voltan Constitution authorizes only three parties, the little formations, eliminated because of their weak support at the time of last year's voting, have no other choice than to join one of the large parties.

That is what the progressives did last November with the birth of the Upper Voltan Progressive Front [FPV]. The creation of the PDV-RDA, which chose Gerard Kango Ouedraogo, president of the National Assembly, as secretary general was therefore no surprise...his new title was already printed on the official programs of the congress distributed to the participants before the opening. The longest discussions were on the subject of the composition of the political bureau where each one expected to be well represented.

However, in the corridors they chiefly talked about another problem which was not officially put on the agenda: that of the unification of the RDA. Two parties in Upper Volta consider that they are the heirs of that old formation: the UDV, which has become today the PVD, and the National Union for the Defense of Democracy [UNDD] created at the instigation of Maurice Yameogo, the former president of the republic, who offered his own candidate

for the election. The two formations, both with a liberal ideology, have similar programs. However, if either of these parties expects the other one to unify with it, reunification has now run into an obstacle: the rehabilitation of Maurice Yamogo, demanded by the UNDD, when he was convicted of embezzling funds and deprived of his civil rights in 1966 after he had been overthrown by the military. After taking refuge behind pretexts, the leaders of the PDV-RDA today seem open to a compromise solution even if they refuse to consider the question of rehabilitation and that of reunification. They still hesitate to open the door because they believe, and not without reason, that the rehabilitation of the former chief of state will encourage him to try and get back into politics...they further remember that it was in part just on that program that the Second Republic fell and they fear that if they give into the demands of the UNDD that they will provoke a clash with the unions and the opposition. Further, the opposition has appreciated very little the declarations made by Mr Philippe Yace on his arrival at Ouagadougou. Mr Yace is president of the Ivory Coast National Assembly and secretary general of the Ivory Coast RDA. He spoke on "reconciliation of enemy brothers."

In reality, the one who is the warmest partisan of reunifying the Upper Volta heirs of the RDA is President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the founding father in 1946 of that movement which was the instrument of decolonization in several countries of West Africa. The Ivory Coast president, in the course of recent months, has multiplied his initiatives in that direction. To that effect, he even received Joseph Conombo, the Prime Minister of Upper Volta, at Yamoussoukro, at the beginning of the year, as well as Kango Ouedraogo, the president of the National Assembly, and furthermore Maurice Yamogo. The latter obviously was not able to leave Upper Volta territory without the approval of Gen Lamizana.

The presence in Ouagadougou of President Yace, who for the first time was personally present at the congress of a brother party, in itself bears witness to the importance that this problem assumes in the eyes of the Ivory Coast chief of state. Mr. Yace was also to recall that the RDA "doctrine" and even its moral foundation, "essential morals," were founded on the constant search for a "consensus" among the various tendencies.

It would be hoped, in Abidjan and inside one part of the PDV-RDA, that the reunification in a final stage should include the FPV of Joseph Ki-Zerbo and that the Upper Voltans should return to a "dialogue" within a vast and single rally. Only, if on the side of the PDV and of the UNDD people are disposed to seek a compromise solution permitting rapprochement, it is not the same case with the FPV. If the friends of Ki-Zerbo and Joseph Ouedraogo advocate tolerance--a delegation of the FPV was furthermore present as observers at the UDV Congress--they are also very strongly attached to multipartyism. As for the unions, they would react very violently to any attempt aiming at abandoning multipartyism....

Two conceptions of what the political life of an African state should be are in conflict and also, to a certain degree, two generations of men. The old

political class, which remembers the historic role of the RDA, hopes to re-create that great party whose conception--unity and dialogue--seemed to them more adapted to African traditions, closer, as a congress delegate emphasized, to "the tree of words" than the majority system. The younger people, on the contrary, who have reached their adult age after decolonization, pay little attention to what they call "the old RDA." And they think that the "Upper Volta model" is as good, as far as democracy is concerned, as the "Ivory Coast model."

12116

CSO: 4400

ZAIRE

DETERIORATION RESULTING FROM MOBUTU'S DESPOTISM DESCRIBED

Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 13 Apr 80 p 18

[Interview with Belgian resident of Kinshasa named Francois, in Paris, by J. B. Natali]

[Text] Zaire has become a morbid encyclopedia of political despotism. Mobutu Sese Seko, who as president enjoyed the confidence of the Belgians and the French, engaged in the 9 years of his despotic regime in whims including the repression of domestic ethnic groups, wanton corruption benefiting those closest to power, and above all, the chronic impoverishment of 28 million inhabitants, among whom infant mortality reached 82 percent, along with the highest rates of crime because it was necessary to steal to eat.

Amnesty International has already drawn a damning picture of the consistent disrespect for human rights. The IMF [International Monetary Fund], for its part, without touching on the sore point of complicity in the former Belgian Congo by international interests, boldly denounces the almost total lack of economic viability in a country with such an enormous disparity in income distribution.

But the aspect which interests us today is not exactly this. It is a question of seeing how Mobutu's dictatorship created an intolerable *modus vivendi* on the level of daily life. In other words, the purely human consequences of this regime.

This was the subject of a long interview granted this week in Paris to this correspondent by a Belgian citizen living in Kinshasa. He opened the game, asking in exchange that for reasons of safety neither his last name nor his profession be given. His first name is Francois, and I do not know what his political opinions are. He did express himself, however, on the basis of a profound ethical solidarity with the people whose problems he is following closely, instead of remaining isolated in the gilded and comfortable district still reserved today for the Europeans.

FOLHA: The Kinshasa government has just decreed "demonetization." What was this and how does this measure affect the life of the most humble people?

Francois: The measure is recent, and was urged by the IMF. The economy of Zaire is in such a jam that the banks are suffering from a constant shortage of bills in their coffers. Even I, as a foreigner, could not obtain my salary one day because the bank branches did not have funds in hand with which to cover my employer's check. The phenomenon was so serious that it was decided very suddenly immediately to replace the paper currency in circulation, but on the basis of a limited quota for each individual.

This resolved the problem for the banks, but it intensified the concentration of wealth in the hands of the 300 families close to Mobutu who control the country. They are not bound by the limitations imposed on the exchange of old bills for new ones. On the other hand, the poorest sector of the people bear the brunt of the problems involved in adaptation. For example, in the capital, with its 2 million residents and an urban area of almost 80 square kilometers, mass transport frequently breaks down. There have been many people getting about on foot.

FOLHA: And why wasn't a simple devaluation effected?

Francois: They tried, but it didn't work. The local currency, called the zaire, has been valued by 300 percent in the past 3 years. Last year, wages were doubled after having remained at the same level for a decade. You can see what this means in terms of lost purchasing power.

FOLHA: But how do the people eat?

Francois: It is simple. The absolute majority of the population is undernourished. A worker with average skill earns 130 zaires a month. A kilogram of meat costs 80. A sack of manioc meal weighing 60 kilograms--enough to feed a family of 8 for about 3 weeks--costs 120 zaires. A bus ticket in Kinshasa costs 1 zaire. And to rent 2 fetid rooms in a suburb, without water or electricity, comes to 50 zaires at a minimum. Total it up. It is impossible to live and difficult to eat.

FOLHA: Would this family budget apply just to the working-class strata?

Francois: Unfortunately no. It is the same for a government employee, workers in the tertiary sector, bank typist or state TV technician. Apart from foreigners--a French or Belgian citizen earns an average of \$3,000, and moreover converts his salary on the black market--only that limited circle of families whose heads remain in the confidence of Mobutu can escape poverty.

FOLHA: Isn't this an exaggeration on your part?

Francois: Not at all. Let me give the example of a high-ranking official in the public enterprise for which I work. He earns 400 zaires per month. He supervises a team of some 40 persons. Outside his office hours, he is forced to sell sweets made by his wife.

Formerly, he was an ice-cream peddler apart from his other job. But this did not provide much supplementary income either because, as I have said, the purchasing power of the population is very low. Another example. In the neighborhood committee of the single party--the Popular Movement of the Revolution--the political official, seemingly an honest man, crosses the Congo River twice a week to buy smoked fish which he sells in Kinshasa. Zaire is not a "country of businessmen," as is said. If many are employed in this secondary trade circuit, it is because they cannot survive on their wages.

FOLHA: Has this situation become worse since the Shaba war in 1978, or was it already catastrophic before?

Francois: I believe that the average standard of living was much better until 1974.

It is more a matter of mobilization for a policy which lost its impetus. Mobutu undertook to "Zairize" the economy--a kind of cuckolded nationalization, with the replacement of some white business presidents with local citizens. There was a drastic drop in productivity immediately after the stocks were exhausted. Control of the economy went to an aristocracy of incompetents. To mention just one case, to replace the Belgian supermarket, the major trade in foodstuffs passed into the hands of one of Mobutu's uncles. The word "Zairizing" did not represent state or community control of the economy, but the establishment of a corrupt bureaucracy functioning on the basis of the rules of private enterprise.

FOLHA: What about the unemployment this measure caused?

Francois: It was enormous. It is because of this that 80 to 90 percent of the population is dying of hunger. This led to sad phenomena in the disorganization of the traditional family. The African family is the nucleus in which, with urbanization, the same tribal village structures are reproduced. Apart from the father, mother and children, the aunts and uncles, cousins and neices and nephews are also included. Now the migration from the rural sector to the cities has accelerated in the past 5 years when one relative has the luck to be employed. However, when money is limited, the Zairian has to refuse the hospitality of his family, thus breaking down a tradition 2,000 years old.

FOLHA: What about infant mortality?

Francois: It is 82 percent, a figure which Zaire has never dared publish. Poverty leads to a chronic lack of sanitation, the diet of pregnant women

is deficient (based above all on "fu-fu," a dish based on manioc meal) nor do the babies have what they need to eat.

FOLHA: Doesn't the hospital network manage to remedy this picture temporarily?

Francois: The hospital network is a special case, dramatic as well. In Kinshasa there is a magnificent National Social Security Institute (INSS) hospital, but it is not functioning and not providing remedies despite the compulsory contributions of workers and employers. There remains the network of private outpatient clinics and hospitals which, although the people have access to them, demand high fees in relation to the purchasing power.

FOLHA: Can you give an example?

Francois: Let us take childbirth as an example. In the colonial era, the Belgians launched a vast campaign to take the monopoly on births occurring at home and lacking hygienic conditions away from the witch doctors. Women became accustomed to clinics, although modest ones. But when they began to knock on the doors of the maternity homes, the problems had already begun. One daily hears stories about women giving birth in the Kinshasa mini-buses, which are built to carry 20 passengers but habitually carry more than 60. Until just a short time ago, if a woman could get to the hospital, she had to pay 100 zaires to get into the delivery room. Now no one or almost no one has that much money. With the multiplication of accidents, causing the deaths of mothers and babies, regulations were implemented requiring that the uterus be completely dilated before expectant mothers can be admitted.

FOLHA: In other words, just minutes before the baby's birth begins.

Francois: Exactly. The depressing part of this story is that one often sees women sitting on the ground outside the walls of the hospital, in the 35- to 40-degree heat, waiting until dilation is complete so they can be admitted.

FOLHA: And then everything is free?

Francois: No. And it is here that things become complicated for the lower working classes of the people. For lack of beds, each and every new mother, even if she has had a Caesarian, must leave the maternity hospital within 48 hours. However, the infant is kept until the 100 zaires plus the room rates are paid.

FOLHA: This is shocking!

Francois: And that is not all. The baby is not fed until the mother returns with the money.

FOLHA: Who is responsible for this?

Francois: It would relieve the consciences of the Europeans if this only happened in badly managed clinics with African staff. But the instance I spoke of occurred at the Ghalyema Clinic run by Belgian nuns. Other clinics do the same.

FOLHA: Have you witnessed any incidents of this sort?

Francois: Unfortunately, yes. The wife of one of my subordinates tried to commit suicide and was admitted at 0400 hours on an emergency basis. The husband came to me in desperation for money. I hastened to the hospital and asked the establishment director if she could be saved. He answered that it would cost 450 zaires "if we do everything possible." Had I not rushed home to raise this sum, the young woman, whose name is Catherine, would have died.

FOLHA: This actually happened?

Francois: There is a second hospital story I would like to relate. I once accompanied a friend to an emergency ward. It was about 2200 hours. A woman emerged from a room into the hallway shouting. "She is carrying on because her baby has just died," a white nurse said. The black mother wrapped the little body in a newspaper and it took her husband 25 minutes to get the death certificate. When I emerged with my friend, the father of the baby came up to me and asked me to help him. I was ready to do anything. He asked me to take him to a large hospital situated some 25 kilometers from there, the Mamayemo Hospital, which has a monopoly on the transportation of cadavers and the only office which can provide authorization for burial. I was prepared to take the mother and the dead baby to the central hospital too. The father refused, fearful of being jailed for violating the monopoly of the "black wagons." We left, he and I. Then his wife, with her baby wrapped in the newspaper, set off on foot to get as close as possible to the Mamayemo Hospital, so that her husband would have to spend as little as possible on transportation.

FOLHA: But what is the reason for this monopoly?

Francois: Well, in Kinshasa this type of service and the sale of coffins are monopolies, controlled by a French lady who is the mistress of one of Mobutu's ministers.

FOLHA: That is barbarous. If matters are thus when it comes to the hour of death, what is the situation with regard to political repression?

Francois: There is a "national documentation center" which is very successful in recruiting "informers," who earn an essential supplement to their miserable wages in this way. The law provides that with two witnesses, anyone can be arrested as a "counterrevolutionary." (Mobutu, and this is not

funny, claims to be the head of a "revolution.") The apparatus is not simply designed to eliminate political adversaries, but also to counteract the rise of ethnic groups, such as those in the Shaba, Kasai, or Lower Zaire, which have never accepted the current president, who comes from the equatorial provinces. The population of Lower Zaire, for example, has always had a tradition of resistance to the established authority, even prior to 1960, while the country was still a Belgian colony.

FOLHA: But isn't there resistance, even in the form of a nucleus with multiple ideologies, seeking to overthrow the tyrant?

Francois: No, and this is what is tragic. People are plunged so deep in concern about "what to eat today, and tomorrow comes so soon" as to be politically passive, to the extent that while there is a tremendous potential for revolt on the one hand, on the other, the overthrow of Mobutu does not seem to be an immediate priority. The problem is to avoid dying of hunger in a country tyrannized and subjected to shameful demagogic propaganda. Every evening the television airs films showing the president in the company of innumerable "people's commissars." There is terminology like that of the French revolution in 1789, mystifying even the official hierarchy, because instead of the terms "you" or "mister," the government has imposed as a required form the word "citizen," which suggests a fictitious social equality.

FOLHA: But is repression just as intensive then?

Francois: It relaxed a little after the International Commission on Human Rights announced the Bugimai massacre, where under the pretext of shutting down trafficking in diamonds, the women's parachute battalion of the elite army division, the Kamagnola Division, murdered 213 persons and threw the bodies in the river. This was an ethnocide.

FOLHA: Can you say a little about the "disappearances" in Kinshasa?

Francois: In the city, there is what is called the "security command," headed a year ago by a man who was a complete drunkard and hardly able to sign his name, but was married to one of Mobutu's sisters. He had the power of life or death over all the residents of Kinshasa. "Subversion" is not always denounced openly, because the campaign against banditry and theft serves as the pretext in the majority of the arrests. This is also used to repress opposition ethnic groups.

FOLHA: It is known moreover that the crime rates are very high. A French journalist almost had his arm amputated 2 years ago when a thief was trying to steal his wristwatch.

Francois: This is true, but no one is born a thief. One must understand the causes of this crime, and they are found above all in the poverty. Here

is an illustrative example. From time to time television programs are interrupted to show thieves caught red-handed, who are moreover barbarously beaten before the cameras. But as the state TV never reveals the fate of these individuals, a Belgian priest had the idea of proposing "internment" in labor camps in which a group of 80 would be the subjects in a civic and spiritual experiment in rehabilitation for society. The project, which was to have TV coverage, was approved. A program was scheduled for the television on which the priest and his "thieves" would be interviewed. At a given moment, one of the so-called criminals raised his hand, the moderator recognized him and asked him to explain what had started him on the path of crime. He wanted to tell his story. He said that he had a college degree and after 8 months of unemployment and since he was hungry, he stole in order to eat because the regime had given him no opportunity to work. The program immediately went off the air. A friend of mine at the "Voice of Zaire"--the name of the state TV network--told me that the censorship was the result of a telephone call from Mobutu himself.

FOLHA: Let us go back a little. After an arrest, what do the lawyers do?

Francois: They can participate if trials are properly brought to public court. Now this is extremely unusual, occurring only when it is in the interests of the regime to publicize the guilt of a group of defendants. Two years ago there was a case of this sort, with a public trial followed by the condemnation to death and execution of 18 individuals. But this was an ethnic, much more than a political, operation, since the defendants were Kasai people.

FOLHA: And how did the white population react to this business?

Francois: The whites remain confined to their golf courses, their houses and pools with their servants hired at 150 zaires per month, clothed in an environment full of preconceptions, such as for example the popular notion that "all the Zairians are thieves." It is very true that many people take the risk of stealing in order to eat, as I said. Near my house there was an empty apartment building, just finished and awaiting the first tenants. Every plumbing fixture, wall socket and scrap of electrical wire was taken. All stolen by people who were starving.

FOLHA: Within this atmosphere of "necessary" theft and corruption, don't foreign contributions fill some of the gaps?

Francois: Thank you for reminding me of this. Sometimes we go 2 or 3 months without seeing a single liter of milk in the shops or supermarkets. Then overnight there is cheap and plentiful milk. It is "donations" from the United States being resold by the officials responsible at retail costs. There was a classic case involving tons of medicines sent by France after the Shaba war. They never reached the dispensaries or hospitals. They were all sold by the military.

FOLHA: The military are corrupt too . . .

Francois: And how! A group of them broke into the home of the German cultural attache, armed with machine guns, made off with everything down to the last tie pin, and even committed sexual offenses against his wife and older daughter. Just after Christmas, as crime among army officers had reached such a shameful point, the government decided to punish 14 of the military who were members of commando groups who threatened to put peaceable members of the bourgeoisie in National Documentation Center prisons if they did not hand over certain sums of money.

FOLHA: If this is the situation in the armed forces, what is the case with the police?

Francois: More or less the same thing. A policeman directing traffic at a main intersection in Kinshasa was earning 75 zaires a month a year ago. He tried to quadruple his earnings through bribes. He asked one or two zaires from an African, but always 50 zaires or more from a white, though after some "negotiation" he would settle for 10. And this was when the individuals were innocent of any violation. Once again I warn against the statement that "all the Zairians are corrupt." Corruption is a double product of poverty and a practice which the higher state levels encourage in the base-level employees, to the extent that the most arbitrary regulations are established.

FOLHA: One last question. Knowing all of this, why are you returning to Zaire?

Francois: I hope one day to participate in a celebration of the fall of this damnable autocracy.

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CSO: 4401

ZAIRE

NATIONAL MEDICAL, SOCIAL FUND DIRECTOR ARRESTED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 26 Mar 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] The general director of the FONAMES [National Medical and Social Fund], Dr Mandiangu, whose suspension was announced by the Executive Board at the conclusion of its most recent meeting, has just been placed under preventive arrest at the central prison in Makala on a temporary arrest warrant, it was learned from a security services source.

The suspension of the general director of the FONAMES and the ordering of a court investigation were decided upon by the Executive Board on the basis of a number of irregularities noted suggesting instances of financial misappropriation planned and carried out within the FONAMES by the official mentioned.

The same source said moreover that the court authorities, who are currently pursuing a cleanup campaign within the court inspectors' body, have just charged a member of that body, citizen Massa, with unauthorized house search and extortion.

This step, it was explained, comes within the context of the implementation of the decision set forth in the presidential arrest last 4 February, when the Father of the Nation denounced the house searches made both day and night in the homes of peaceful citizens by some individuals claiming to have authorization.

The right to privacy and freedom from house searches without a warrant are among the rights of the citizens protected by Article 22 of the constitution. However they are often violated, giving rise to a feeling of insecurity on the part of the people.

In fact, court police inspector Massa was entrusted with a surveillance assignment, and it was in that context that he made a search of a house located in the ONL [National Housing Office] complex, where he took the sum of 130,000 zaires from the owner of the premises illegally, keeping 10,000 for himself and returning the other 120,000 zaires, stating that he was acting on the orders of his superior.

Inspector Massa's superiors, on being informed of the above-mentioned fact, ordered his arrest. He will be brought before the proper court after the prosecutor's preliminary examination.

It was because of certain abuses in which some members of the court inspectors' body, working in constant contact with the people, have been engaging, that the court authorities launched this campaign to publicize and eliminate corruption with a view to putting an end to these frequent abuses.

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CSO: 4400

FIVE CONDEMNED TO DEATH FOR CRIMES IN KINGASANI

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 27 Mar 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] (Bani)--He who lives by the sword shall die by the sword, it is said. Several "black sheep" of the FAZ [Zairian Armed Forces] as well as two civilians were sentenced to death in a court-martial in Kinshasa last Saturday. The court-martial, made up of Nzebo, Molema Enkumu, Kikumuna, Mangbahu, Nkieme and Liwila, all FAZ officers, pronounced the death sentence for defendants Onda, Botalima, Angwazowe (alias Mathos) and Mwamba Eyale, also under sentence to avoid criminal association. Among the other sentences which were overridden by the more serious penalty, i.e. the death sentence, in accordance with Article 257 of the military justice code, the court-martial sentenced the defendants to pay 25,000 zaires to the widow Kazadi and her children and 25,000 zaires to civil plaintiff Sadisi, owner of the La Coquette Hotel. The court-martial, on the same occasion, ordered the confiscation of all of the assets of the defendants. However, the treasury was ordered to pay court costs.

Sergeant Major Kasika, a defendant in the trial, charged under the law for failure to report the crimes committed by Onda and his accomplices and receiving and concealing equipment stolen from the La Coquette Hotel, was acquitted for lack of sufficient evidence of guilt. This followed an intensive investigation of the case, which aroused the indignation of all the local citizens, and in particular the residents of Kingasani, on whom the court-martial must have made a strong impression, in accordance with the prerogatives guaranteed them by law. But let us proceed to the facts as stated by the defendants.

Defendant Angwazowa, alias Mathos, a driver by profession and part-time manager, the man responsible for the death of Kazadi, is a resident of Kingasani, the site of the crime. He persuaded the other defendants, members of the FAZ, to make off with some weapons so that they could steal some musical instruments. In this connection they were promised the sum of 5,500 zaires. Getting wind of the affair, the defendant Onda, Kazadi's murderer, currently being transferred to the interior of the country, who was quite willing to steal a military weapon. On 6 October 1979, the group

met at the Belo Bar, where a plan of action was drafted. This instrument theft was to take place at a villa located in the Dubonhomme neighborhood.

Believing that carrying a weapon at that late hour (0300 hours) might cause them difficulty, the group returned to Kingasani and more specifically to the La Coquette Hotel, where some customers were still drinking. They were overpowered and locked in a room. The gang could then operate without hindrance, as all the defendants stated. Loudspeakers, tape recorders and everything which might be of interest was taken. But before carrying off the goods thus stolen, Onda, the leader, had some difficulty with his victim, Kazadi, who tried to take the weapon he had in hand from him. It was then that events became dramatic. The defendant Onda opened fire on Kazadi to rid himself of this troublesome witness.

In the witness box, all the defendants confessed with the exception of Kasika, who maintained he was not aware of the crime committed by his peers. With this verdict, a dangerous gang which spread grief through Kingasani was destroyed. In the audience, made up mainly of law students and students from the Higher Military Center, was Col Kundo Kuangele Makatu, first alternate general prosecutor and higher military prosecutor for the city of Kinshasa, and Col Efomi Ikele, permanent adviser to the general military court prosecutor's office.

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C80: 4400

ZAIRE

CULTURAL AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 28 Mar 80 pp 1, 8

[Text] Zaire and the PRC [People's Republic of China] signed a 5-year cultural agreement Wednesday at a ceremony at which Presidents Sese Seko Mobutu and Hua Guofeng were present.

This agreement calls for increased cooperation and trade between the two countries in the realms of science, education, public health, sports, newspapers and radio. The agreement was signed by Chinese Minister of Culture Huang Zhen and State Commissioner for Foreign Affairs Nguza Karl-I-Bond.

Earlier, President of the Republic Mobutu attended armored vehicle maneuvers near Beijing, accompanied by Gen Chi Haotian, adjutant chief of the general staff.

Following these maneuvers, our president climbed into a tank and talked with the crew.

According to the Chine-Nouvelle Agency, he said he was much impressed by what he saw, "which reflects the quality of the Chinese officers and combatants." "I express my admiration and congratulations on your success," he added.

In addition, four political commissioners met with Chinese Vice Premier Ji Pengfei, head of the International Relations Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

Finally, an article by the Chine-Nouvelle correspondent in Kinshasa emphasized that trade between the two countries has been multiplied by eight in the course of the past 6 years. Zaire exports copper and cobalt, in particular, to China.

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CSO: 4400

COLLECTION OF 1980 BUDGET INCOME DISCUSSED

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 29-30 Mar 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] The major gathering of regional commissioners over which First State Commissioner Bo-Boliko Lokonga has been presiding at the Palace of the People since last Monday devoted its Thursday afternoon session to matters pertaining to the collection of income for which the 1980 budget provides.

The first state commissioner began by calling the attention of the regional commissioners to the strict adherence to regulations which should characterize all activities pertaining to the implementation of the 1980 budget, both with regard to expenditures and income.

The state commissioner for finance and budget then gave details of a technical nature as to the implementation of this budget. He spoke among other things of the decisions made on 5 October of last year to centralize all income on the treasury level, and he explained to the regional commissioners how they should handle matters in this connection.

He also explained to them the foreign exchange budget of the republic for this year. To the questions asked by the regional officials concerning the lack of credit allocations for transfers, missions and the equipment of the units responsible for collecting state income, the first state commissioner promised to look into the necessary steps to be taken with the present budget in order to find solutions to these problems.

State Commissioner for Finance Namwisi Ma Mkooy informed the regional commissioners of a draft law pertaining to trade registers, conceived in such a way as to simplify the current administrative procedure.

In fact, Namwisi explained, of the 200 million zaires for trade registers for which the 1979 budget called, only 10 percent was collected, precisely because of difficulties of an administrative nature.

In answer to a question on the measures approved for preventing the misuse of income collected, the state commissioner answered that it is above all a matter of the men involved, and that the regional commissioners responsible for the collection of the income have the authority to propose transfers or indeed to recall agents who fail to carry out their assignments.

ZAIRE

BRIEFS

REFUGEES IN ZAIRE--The new resident representative of the High Commissariat for Refugees in Zaire, Mr Kepnou Cecil, presented his credentials to State Commissioner for Foreign Affairs Bolela Wa Boende, on Wednesday. Following this ceremony, Mr Cecil stated that the number of African refugees who have found asylum on the territory of Zaire comes to about 700,000, and he said he relies on the close cooperation of the Executive Council to accomplish his tasks. In answer to a question about the fate of the refugees from Zimbabwe, Mr Cecil, who until recently represented the refugee commission in Lusaka, stated that the outcome of the situation in this territory (Zimbabwe) has brought general relief. On this subject he said that his organization has already established a schedule for the return of the Zimbabwe refugees to their country. [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 28 Mar 80 p 1] 5157

COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA--Zaire and Bulgaria will conclude cultural, agricultural, trade, technical and scientific cooperation agreements in Sofia in the month of June. The Bulgarian charge d'affaires in Zaire, Mr Savov Veliko, who met with State Commissioner for International Cooperation Lengema Dulia Yubasa Makanga on Tuesday, has announced that a major delegation from Zaire will visit Bulgaria for this purpose. [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 3 Apr 80 p 1] 5157

COOPERATION WITH CHILE--Following an intensive course in Spanish at the Cultural Center of the Chilean embassy in Kinshasa, four young GECAMINES [General Quarries and Mines Company] engineers, Kanyi Kabamba, Kalume Luamba, Tekadiomona Baku and Shisola Kangos, will leave Zaire for Chile next week. They will stay there for a year on a training apprenticeship, within the framework of the cooperation between the GECAMINES and the Chilean CODELCO [Copper Corporation]. They will have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with Chilean mining extraction techniques in the main mining and metallurgical centers in that country. In the photograph, the four young engineers are shown with the representative of GECAMINES in Kinshasa, Mbuya Kilolo, and the Chilean charge d'affaires in Zaire, Mr Juan Martabit, as well as the secretary for cultural affairs at that embassy, Mr Edgardo Manriques. [Photo caption] [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 3 Apr 80 p 5] 5157

CSO: 4400

PM ANCHORED BY LABOR LEADER'S ATTACK

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 May 80 pp 5, 8

[Text]

AN attack on the Party and its Government by a labour leader for the failure to diversify the economy from one based on copper to agriculture angered Prime Minister Mr Daniel Lisulo at a May Day rally at Mushili centre in Ndola.

In his address, deputy chairman of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, Mr Herbert Bweupe, said since independence, there had been slogans, public speeches and philosophising by the Party and its Government on the need to diversify the lopsided economy through agricultural development.

He said appeals had been made to the people on radio, newspapers and in public speeches to go back to the land to produce food.

"But the labour movement would like to remind the Party and its Government that speeches and slogans alone without proper guidance, material, financial and moral support to farmers will not bring any anticipated results," said Mr Bweupe.

He said statistical reports showed that in 1978 61 per cent of the country's population lived in rural areas and to the labour movement, this was a large enough population to

produce enough food for themselves and for the 39 per cent in urban areas.

"People cannot be forced to go back to the land without the necessary means to till the land. One would have hoped that with the introduction of rural reconstruction centres, the food problems were going to be eased.

"Today, rural reconstruction centres have become a liability to the Government, they cannot even produce enough food to feed themselves," Mr Bweupe charged.

He said the problem with the Party and its Government was that they did not want to learn from the old saying that

"charity begins at home,"

adding that they would only talk about diversifying the economy when the London metal market announces a slump in copper prices and until then the agricultural sector is in oblivion.

When it was his turn to speak, Mr Lisulo said before he delivered his speech, he

wanted to make some observations on Mr Bweupe's speech.

He said he had listened "very carefully to the speech" and that he wished he had an opportunity to reply to it sentence by sentence and paragraph by paragraph.

"I agree that we must be critical of ourselves, but we must also give ourselves credit because in this country, many things have gone wrong and a lot of good has been done too," said the Prime Minister.

He said President Kaunda gave instructions on behalf of the Party and its Government to people to carry out development programmes.

"If these instructions are not carried out, should we blame the Party and its Government, what have you yourself as an individual done?" he asked.

He said there was much incompetence and stealing in the organisations charged with the responsibility to execute Government policy as well as

by extension officers in the department of agriculture who, he said, were paid public funds for doing nothing.

"It is unfair for any leader to stand up in public and start blaming the Government for failure. Do you expect me to run Namboard, Lintco, Zamhort or TVZ. This nation has just let itself down," said the Prime Minister.

He said to stamp out inefficiency and theft, the Government fired and prosecuted workers, but when some of them were touched, their relatives in influential positions intervened.

He said he had heard people say that leaders just talked about going back to the land without they themselves setting the example. But he said he was a lawyer by profession and was not picked from the street to join the Government.

"It is you people without a means of living we urge to go back to the land. I do not have to go back to the land because I am still useful as a lawyer. I

am embarrassed by people who say I am enjoying riding a Government Mercedes Benz as if I never owned a car before," he said.

He said when one looked at the background of some of the people making noise now, one would find that they would have not made it had it not been for the present Party and Government system.

For Zambia to continue importing maize and other crops which grow locally 16 years after independence is disgraceful, member of the Central Committee for Southern Province Mr Mungoni Liso told a May Day rally in Choma.

Mr Liso said: "Admittedly there was insufficient rainfall during the last two seasons and as a result, the yield was not as good as anticipated. But we cannot blame reasons other than our own failures."

Mr Liso said some unscrupulous leaders had amassed much wealth by illegal means at the expense of the common man whose cause they claimed to be championing.

But Mr Liso warned: "It may be of interest to remind those selfish leaders that in the event of a military coup, the barrel of the gun may not spare their lives and it may be impossible for them to flee the country as anticipated."

But he appealed to people in the province to refrain from witch-hunting of suspected counterrevolutionaries without proper evidence.

In Livingstone, another Central Committee member, Mr Bob Litana, said now that the liberation war in Zimbabwe which cost Zambia much of both human lives and property was over, this country should pull all its resources in national development.

And chairman of the Zambia Federation of Employers, Mr Kennan Nkwabilo, said Zambians would be considered lunatics if after ten years they will still be importing food like at the present rate.

Mr Nkwabilo told a Labour Day rally at the Freedom Statue that the potential for agricultural development was there. With determination, goodwill and discipline, the country should be self-sufficient.

In Mpika, Party Secretary-General, Mr Mainza Chona, said it was a painful thing for leaders to be regarded as enemies of workers when they were there to serve them.

Mr Chona said President Kaunda fully appreciated and encouraged efforts by trade unions to improve working conditions for the workers.

"The Party and its Government rely on the labour movement for this task," he said.--Times Reporter/Zana

CSO: 4420

STRENGTHENING OF JAPANESE TIES ADVOCATED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 May 80 p 2

[Text]

MINISTER of State for Foreign Affairs Dr Mutumba Bull has called on Zambia and Japan to redouble their efforts of cooperation in economy, science and technology.

Dr Bull thanked Japan for the assistance given to Zambia since independence which included among other things commodity loans for the purchase of wagons, fertiliser, transport equipment, machinery and trucks.

The minister was speaking at a reception to mark Emperor Hirohito's 79th birthday which was attended by several dignitaries.

Cooperation

"Today we can proudly point at the shining fruits of cooperation between our two countries such as the Kafue Nitrogen Chemicals plant and the Mwembeshi earth satellite station," she said.

Japan was now involved in several other projects which included mining and communications where she was helping in building of the mass media complex in Lusaka.

There was no doubt that

there was room for expanding this cooperation in the political, economic, social, scientific and technological fields.

"We already have a sound base for such cooperation in the excellent relations between our two nations," said Dr Bull.

"We should now redouble our efforts in all the areas I have mentioned for the mutual benefit of our two peoples."

Dr Bull congratulated Japan for succeeding in turning their country, ruined by war, into a giant admired by others.

"It has set a standard for all others to learn from," the minister said, adding that the industrious people of Japan through the leadership and guidance of Emperor Hirohito and government were able to marshal all their resources together "and have built a technologically highly successful nation in the world."

"We congratulate you in your great achievements in such diverse fields as ship-building, fishing, motor industry, steel and computer technology," she said.

Earlier, the Japanese ambassador to Zambia, Mr Hajime Nishimiya said the independence of Zimbabwe is a challenge to Zambians to develop their economy.

"Time has come for the people of Zambia to take advantage of this new situation for the furtherance of their economy and wellbeing under the guidance of their Party and its Government," he said.

NEED TO FORM AFRICAN COMMON MARKET STRESSED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 May 80 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE projection of an African common market by the year 2000 is realistic, the problems to be hurdled are of a particularly intractable variety.

Regional cooperation among African nations is vital and must be achieved before the common market is realised.

There are a few examples of success. ECOWAS in West Africa is one, but it too is facing formidable internal wrangles.

The first economic summit held in Lusaka this year by nine Southern African nations has to get off the ground.

Economic dependence on South Africa, which afflicts the nine nations like a common virus, is not going to be eliminated overnight.

Then there is the desirability of political stability in each country.

There is internecine upheaval in Chad, the war of attrition between Ethiopia and Somalia, and the Eritrean struggle against Addis Ababa rule.

Nearer home, there is Jonas Savimbi's South African-backed struggle against the legitimate government in Luanda.

The ever present likelihood of military coups cannot be dismissed either. Liberia is still unstable in the aftermath of William Tolbert's ouster.

The Lagos summit touched on these problems, a sign that the heads of state were fully conscious of the monumental problems to be solved before the common market can become a reality.

That the common market will benefit the underprivileged among the peoples of Africa cannot be questioned.

The African leaders need to act with tenacity to see the dream come true. It may even be necessary to subjugate national economic interests in the quest for a common approach.

Tariff barriers must be lifted, there must be a free flow of goods and people among the member-countries and there must be a deliberate move towards disengaging from the economic tentacles of the West.

In forming the Organisation of African Unity in 1963, Africa was chided by the West for trying the impos-

sible. Today, the OAU works, even if it has a few wrinkles here and there.

The African common market will be formed in 2000, all it needs is for the leaders to employ the same tenacity that has made the OAU a working reality.

President Kaunda struck a hopeful note with his closing speech at the conference. But it is clear that unless all the leaders dedicate themselves to the realisation of this great dream it may take longer for Africa to achieve its desired goal of economic independence.

ZAMBIA

CHONA REVEALS NATION'S HUGE INTERNATIONAL DEBT

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 May 80 p 1

[Text] Zambia's international debt now stands at K300 billion compared to K70 billion in 1970, Party Secretary-General, Mr Mainza Chona, told a Labour Day rally in Mpika on Thursday.

Apart from the 210 percent dive into debt, Mr Chona said there was still much to be done in view of the country's outstanding problems like the rising balance of payments deficit, inability to feed ourselves, high infant mortality, slow economic growth, rapid population growth and rapid unemployment.

Other problems are low productivity, and apathy towards work. These problems, he said, were common to all developing countries.

Mr Chona urged people to work hard and help reduce the high cost of living.

He said the Government was fed up with price increases which pushed wage rise demands.

"The best statement I have heard this year is one made by Mr Sketchley Sacika, chairman of the Prices and Incomes Commission, that the council will not easily accept proposals for price increases," he said.

Despite these problems the Government had done much and had changed the appearance of the country, he said.

In 1962 only K12 million was spent on education compared with K124 million in 1980. The 50n expenses on health had risen to K10 and money spent on African agriculture was K3 million in 1962 as compared to K135 million this year.

Subsidies, grants and other payments were K619,000 in 1962/63 compared with K136.9 million this year.

In Chinsali, member of the Central Committee, Mrs Chibesa Kankasa, urged leaders to pay attention to peasant farmers.

She said slogans would never work if individuals or small-scale farmers in villages were not attended to.

"Many small-scale farmers could grow food, but are unable to do so because they do not have most of their requirements in time."

Addressing a Labour Day rally in Lawingu, Minister of State for Legal Affairs and Solicitor-General, Mr Gibson Chigaga, said national efforts to achieve economic recovery through agricultural development could not succeed unless human resources were effectively organised into cooperative societies.

He said as a short-term measure, private companies should extend their activities to agriculture in areas specifically selected by the Government.

Such private companies could enjoy tax "holidays" and other benefits for, say, five to ten years, provided they met production targets.

Mr Chigaga suggested that if such private companies proved reliable and resourceful, then they could be fully integrated into the country's agricultural production system.

He however, said in the long run, there could only be one solution and that is that Zambians themselves should learn farming.

CSO: 4420

UPGRADING OF AGRICULTURE MINISTRY URGED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 May 80 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text]

IN order of importance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development doesn't seem to rate very high. It is a sort of "poor cousin" of the other ministries, such as defence, foreign and home affairs.

Yet if we are to achieve self-sufficiency in food production and eliminate the humiliation of having to import maize from South Africa, it is imperative that this ministry be upgraded in importance.

Now that the liberation war in Zimbabwe has resulted in the independence of that country, some funds should be diverted to agriculture so that the food production programme can really take off.

There is also the question of planning; President Kaunda said during his Labour Day address last Thursday that there would be no more "haphazard planning."

It is clear that some of our food programmes have come unstuck because those planning them have stood logic on its head.

For instance, Zambians were promised an egg a day as far back as 1970; today, it may be accurate to say that egg production has certainly been boosted, but the "egg a day" scheme has yet to be realised.

Beef production appears to have declined, with the Cold Storage Board sometimes having nothing to sell to the butchers.

Our national herd is reputedly one of the biggest in Africa, yet the shortage of meat in our butcheries has become part of the ordinary housewife's daily nightmare.

If, during the next ten years, we are unable to achieve self-sufficiency in food production, as one leader said, it will be a disgrace.

What needs to be done is to employ a new crop of planners with the foresight and energy to match the eloquent and optimistic speeches made by the leaders during the Labour Day celebrations.

Our present-day planners seem to live in a world of their own, a world where the document prepared for implementation reads like gobbledygook to the ordinary Zambian.

Having got the right-minded planners, let us choose more meticulously the type of people to implement the programmes.

The politicians who are in love with the sound of their own voices should be kept away. Let's get people who love to work for its own sake, not because it will promote their political careers.

This is no easy task in Zambia today; far too many people are preoccupied with self-promotion.

Zambia's foreign debt stands at K300 billion, one of the largest among the developing countries. An ambitious food production programme, conceived and implemented by real patriots could only help us to reduce this embarrassing indebtedness.

LABOR LEADER CALLS FOR FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF ARABLE LAND

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 May 80 p 5

[Text]

A TOP trade union leader has suggested that if Zambia is to recover from its present economic chaos the Party and its Government should ensure fair distribution of arable land among farmers, especially in rural areas.

General secretary of the Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT), Mr Shi-yenge Kapini, said in Livingstone that the present distribution of land was unfair and left much to be desired.

He gave Southern Province as one area where Africans were deprived of land by the former colonial settlers and said efforts by the Party and its Government to redistribute land should be centred in this field.

Mr Kapini who was addressing a Labour Day rally at the Independence Ground at which member of the Central Committee, Mr Bob Litana, was guest of honour, said in future people shouting about the "lima" programme should participate in these programmes.

The ZNUT leader called on

the Party and its Government to lower the prices of agricultural requisites and said he saw no point why the Government should be able to import a 90 kg bag of maize at K26, but failed to pay the Zambian farmer K15 for the same to encourage him to produce more.

The Government should look more seriously into the plight of thousands of school-leavers roaming the streets without employment and at the widening gap between the rich and the poor, a situation which Mr Kapini described as "explosive."

On school-leavers, he said, first it was Grades IV and VII who were mostly affected and these were then followed by Form III and soon Form Vs would be affected and in future university graduates.

Mr Kapini said not all the thousands of people who followed Jesus Christ did so because they believed He would take them to Heaven. Some of them followed the Lord because He was able to give them food, Mr Kapini said.

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